PRACTICES OF PARENTS IN DEALING WITH PRESCHOOL CHILDREN

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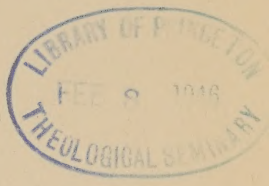
ARTHUR T. JERSILD, EDITOR

PRACTICES OF PARENTS IN DEALING WITH PRESCHOOL CHILDREN



By

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THIS BOOK IS, APOLOGETICALLY, DEDICATED

TO MY SON

ROBERT WHITE LAFORE, JR.

EDITOR'S PREFACE

While everyone seems to agree that the home environment is of profound importance in the development of the young child, there has been very little direct systematic study of what actually happens in the home environment. For this reason a study such as the one here reported by Dr. Gertrude Lafore is both timely and significant. During visits to the home, Dr. Lafore made detailed, objective records of the give-and-take between twenty-one children and their mothers or (mother substitutes).

The study shows the frequency of a variety of practices used by parents and of forms of behavior exhibited by children. The findings reveal sharp differences in parents' ways of dealing with children. These differences not only appear in specific practices but seem also to reflect important differences in attitude with respect to the role of the parent and the rights of children.

It is apparent that there are times when the wishes of even the most loving and adept mother and the most reasonable child conflict and cause frustration to one or both. Such thwarting occurs, for example, when the demands or needs of the child compete persistently with household tasks that must be done or that interfere with other projects which the mother thinks she has a right to pursue. While some clashes of this sort are unavoidable, it appears that the way would be easier if parents could better learn to accept what is normal and fully to be expected in the behavior of a runabout child, and could deal with this as a part of the changed pattern of life which they chose for themselves when they brought the child into the world.

ARTHUR T. JERSILD

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G. G. L.

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PRACTICES OF PARENTS IN DEALING WITH PRESCHOOL CHILDREN

CHAPTER I

BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY

In recent years since the development of new interest in the young child, much has been written advising parents what to do with their children, but relatively little material has been available concerning what parents actually do. This has happened in spite of the fact that many of the advised practices have been borrowed from the observance of successful parents. Psychologists, educators, and child study groups have availed themselves of successful parent practices, but there has been little attempt at analytic presentation of parent practices as such. Yet it is an accepted belief that the early influence of the parents is of unparalleled importance in the development of the child. It seems, then, axiomatic that what the parents actually do is of first importance in understanding child behavior.

STUDIES OF THE EFFECT OF PARENTAL ATTITUDE

A number of studies have given evidence of the influence of the parent's attitude in the behavior of the child. Hattwick and Stowell [11]* found that when the children were "overprotected," "babied," or "pushed," they displayed poor work habits. Children who were not subject to such treatment displayed good work habits.

Similarly, in her study Baruch [4] showed that "tension" in the home caused poor adjustment of the child in nursery school.

Francis and Fillmore [9] differentiated between the effect of parental attitude and physical factors on child behavior.

Stemsrud and Wardwell [26] pointed out the influence on the child's behavior of being preferred or "rejected" by the parent.

* Throughout this study numbers in brackets refer to the numbered references in the Bibliography, pp. 146–147.

Two studies, those of Laws [18] and Rosenheim [23], offered support to the contention that parent attitudes greatly influence child behavior, and gave more detailed information with regard to some of the practices of parents. By means of rating and checking scales distributed in a state-wide child study program, Laws collected information concerning parent practices. Rosenheim collected such information by means of checking scales and interviews with parents who brought their children to a guidance clinic. Tucker [28] (by a systematic recording of parent behavior as seen in a mothers' cooperative nursery school) collected much detailed data concerning parent practices.

Valuable as these studies are, none of them gives a "play by play" account of what a parent actually does with the child while in the home. It was to supply such an account that this study of parent-child relationships was made. It describes the contacts that continually occur between parents and children in the course of day-by-day living in the home.

The investigation had for its subjects a group of parents and children representing various socio-economic levels in New York City. Data for the study consist of records taken in the home during systematic observations of the behavior of parents in relation to their children.

The investigator visited twenty-one homes and systematically recorded as much as possible of what the parent said and did in connection with the child and vice versa. The data thus collected were analyzed from the point of view of parent practices, interrelationships between parents and children, and individual patterns of behavior.

The child spends a great deal of his time at home, and has there, in most cases, almost his entire contact with his parents. Obviously the interrelationship of parent and child is more clearly seen in this setting than in any other. At home inhibitions, attitudes, practices, and behavior are more nearly natural and are also held more constant by the total home pattern. Behavior in the home is likely to differ from behavior in any other place, and thus offers the most basic information concerning the nature of everyday interchange between parent and child.

METHOD OF COLLECTING DATA FROM THE HOME

Using the home for the collection of scientific data concerning parents presents certain difficulties. There is the inconvenience of having a stranger in the home. Moreover, any parent is likely to be somewhat affected by the fact that his conduct in relation to his child is being observed. In this study the author attempted to decrease the self-consciousness of the parents by requesting them to pursue their usual activities. Even so, by giving the investigator permission to observe the child when he was with his parent or in some other part of the home the parent could not help being aware that his dealings with the child were being watched and recorded. The author would like to say that, without the exceptional patience and kindness of the parents, this study could never have been made. The fact that they opened their homes to a stranger for the collection of information indicates that investigators may find the home an invaluable center for this type of research. However, even when the home is available, and the parent unaware of being scrutinized, the presence of a stranger, no matter how self-effacing and sympathetic he may be, is bound to influence the behavior of the adult under observation.

This situation may not be changed as much as might be expected, since there are several factors which tend to hold the parent to his habitual behavior. In the first place, a preschool child is likely to cling to his behavior patterns, regardless of the presence of visitors. If he is accustomed to obey a first command, he will probably do so in this situation; if he habitually waits for physical interference before complying, he probably will continue to do so; if he frequently "shows off," he will be likely to do so with a visitor present. The presence of a stranger may cause variations in the child's usual responses but will not be likely to introduce new ones; and, if the child shows his habitual behavior, the parent, willingly or not, will tend to respond with the patterns the child has learned to expect.

The parent is held to his usual behavior, first by the child's

actions and second by the child's expectations, and both of these factors are strengthened by the parent's own habits. A parent may very well want to give the stranger a certain impression, and for a short time may do so, but soon the child's behavior and the force of the parent's own habits bring out the usual pattern.

There may be a change in degree, but probably not in kind. The variations in parent behavior caused by the presence of a stranger in the home are less than those which would occur outside the home, and despite the drawbacks, observance in the home gives a truer picture of parent behavior than does observance anywhere else.

CHOOSING THE METHOD FOR COLLECTING HOME DATA

The choice of a method for collecting information from the home is important. Some of the early child psychologists[1] who were concerned with the collection of information pertaining to children in the home used the diary method,[2] which consisted of detailed day-by-day accounts of a particular child as he developed over a period of months or, in some cases, years. This task required a vast amount of time on the part of both the investigator and the home members, and probably accounts for the fact that the investigators frequently made use of their own children for these studies. The studies provide valuable and interesting material, relevant, however, only to the child of whom the study was made. The limitations of this longitudinal method are the time involved and material on a "selected" sub-

[1] See such studies as:

Shinn, Millicent W., *The Biography of a Baby* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1900), 247 pp.

Preyer, W., *The Mind of the Child;* 1. The Senses and The Will; 2. The Development of the Intellect (New York: Appleton, 1888, 1889), 346 pp., 317 pp.

[2] For a discussion of method in child psychology see:

Brooke, Fowler, D., *Child Psychology* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1939), 247 pp., Chap. 1.

Stoddard, George D. and Wellman, Beth L., *Child Psychology* (New York: Macmillan, 1934), 419 pp., Chap. 1.

Anderson, T. E., "The Methods of Child Psychology," *A Handbook of Child Psychology,* 2nd revised edition; edited by Carl Murchison (Worcester: Clark University Press, 1933), pp. 3–28.

ject. These limitations would also be found in diary records kept of parents.

More recent investigators[3] have collected information from the home by using the interview method and rating and checking scales. These methods have provided some interesting conclusions and provocative questions, but they have failed in providing a unified picture of home behavior.

To secure a unified and complete picture of home behavior would necessitate using a motion picture camera connected with a sound track. One can imagine homes equipped with "Gesellian" photographic domes which would film parent behavior from all angles, but, unfortunately, such a procedure (at least on a large scale) must remain in one's imagination. The aim, however, remains to duplicate this movie setup as closely as possible, and some form of systematic observation seems to provide the most satisfactory substitute.

Previous studies[4] have shown that a trained observer can record a great deal of what happens in a given situation. The use of shorthand facilitates this procedure, and even if the observer uses an improvised shorthand, he can collect accurate and detailed information of his subjects. The number of such subjects must be large enough to allow for sampling errors. This observational method has the advantages of requiring no special equipment, of allowing the observer to remain relatively inconspicuous, and of enabling him to keep the subject within range.

In the present study the author used a form of observation similar to that described by Jersild and Markey in their study on children's conflicts [16]. The material thus collected was then analyzed by means of quantitative tallies and, on the basis of these tallies, it was qualitatively interpreted.

[3] See: Bayley, Nancy and Jones, Harold E., "Environmental Correlates of Mental and Motor Development; A Cumulative Study from Infancy to Six Years." *Child Development,* December, 1937, Vol. 8, No. 4, pp. 329–343.

[4] See such studies as: Caille, Ruth K., *Resistant Behavior in Young Children;* Jersild, Arthur T. and Fite, M.D., *The Inflence of Nursery School Experience on Children's Social Adjustments.* Jersild, Arthur T. and Markey, Frances V., *Conflicts Between Preschool Children.* (All three published by Teachers College, Columbia University.) Jersild, Arthur T. and Meigs, Margaret F., *Direct Observation as a Research Method. Review of Educational Research,* December, 1939, Vol. 9, pp. 472–487.

CHAPTER II

SUBJECTS AND PROCEDURES

THE SUBJECTS in this study were twenty-one parents or parent-surrogates and twenty-one children, one of each parent. Fifteen of the children attended Greenwich House Nursery School; five were members of an informal play group conducted by the East Harlem Nursing and Health Service; one child was enrolled in the Child Development Institute Nursery School of Teachers College, Columbia University.

The group represented several socio-economic levels of population in New York City. Two families were on relief, and one was in the "highest" socio-economic bracket as rated on the Sims score card for socio-economic status. The classification of the group on the Sims scale presented a range of scores from 3 ("low") to 9 ("highest"), with a median score of 6.2 ("medium high").

The scoring on the Sims score card was done by the investigator after observation of the home rather than by questioning the parent, although in a few instances several questions were asked. In fourteen cases one or more (but not exceeding three) questions were omitted because information was not available. These scores were then computed in the manner prescribed in the manual of directions for the score card.

The classification of the group on the Sims scale is shown in Table I.

The parents or parent-surrogates appearing in this study included nineteen mothers, eleven fathers, one grandmother, one sister, and one brother.

In six cases the observations were made of the mother alone. In thirteen cases both the father and the mother were represented. One case involved the grandmother, and the remaining case involved father, brother, and sister.

In those cases where more than one parent was concerned, one of them played the primary role and the other held a secondary position. The fathers of two different children played the primary role during four observation periods, a brother and sister jointly held the primary role in the observation of a third child,

TABLE I

CLASSIFICATION OF FAMILY STATUS ACCORDING TO THE SIMS SOCIO-ECONOMIC SCORE CARD

*Name of Child**	*Rating*	*Interpretation*
Alvin	7	High
Angus	7	High
Betsy	8	Very high
Candy	5	Medium
Caroline	8	Very high
Cedric	8	Very high
Charles	4	Medium low
Cornelia	8	Very high
Deborah	6	Medium low
Drew	9	Highest
Enid	3	Low
Henry	6	Medium high
Jennifer	7	High
Michael	7	High
Nancy	5	Medium
Peter	8	Very high
Phillip	5	Medium
Rebecca	7	High
Tina	5	Medium
Tommy	4	Medium low
Tony	5	Medium

* All names appearing in this study are pseudonyms.

and the grandmother of a fourth child played the primary role for two other observation periods. In the remaining thirty-four periods of observation the mother was the primary influence. The classification of parents according to primary and secondary roles is shown in Table II.

The ages of all the parents were not accurately known, but the range was from 18 years to over 50 years. Table III shows the allocation of the parents to four age groups.

The intelligence test scores of the parents were not available but from the available test scores for the children and such information concerning education and socio-economic status as could be obtained, the parents represented in this study seemed to be of normal or above-normal intelligence.

TABLE II

CLASSIFICATION OF CHILDREN, SHOWING WHICH PARENT PLAYED THE DOMINANT ROLE DURING THE OBSERVATION PERIOD

Child	*Record I**	*Record II*
Caroline	M[1]	MF[2]
Tony	M	M
Cedric	GM[3]	GM
Angus	M	M
Jennifer	M	M
Charles	M	M + F[4]
Tommy	MF	M
Candy	MF	MF
Deborah	M	M
Betsy	M	MF
Rebecca	MF	M
Phillip	M	FM
Alvin	FM	F[5]
Cornelia	M	MF
Henry	M	MF
Tina	M	M
Enid	SB[6]	SBF
Michael	F	M
Drew	M	M
Peter	MF	MF
Nancy	MF	M

* See page 13 for explanation of Record I and Record II.
[1] M = Mother.
[2] MF = Mother primary; father secondary.
[3] GM = Grandmother.
[4] M + F = Equal weight to mother and father.
[5] F = Father.
[6] SB = Sister and brother.

The twenty-one children represented in this study included ten boys and eleven girls. Twelve were "only" children. Of the other nine, six had one sibling and three had two siblings.

The exact ages of all the children were not available, but all

TABLE III

DISTRIBUTION OF 21 PARENTS ACCORDING TO AGE GROUPS

18–25 Years	*25–30 Years*	*30–35 Years*	*35–50 Years*
Nancy	Michael	Deborah	Angus
Tony	Caroline	Rebecca	Cedric
Betsy	Tina	Henry	
Drew	Jennifer		
Peter	Cornelia		
Candy	Alvin		
Charles	Phillip		
Tommy			

Enid is not classified, as her brother and sister were between 14 and 18 and the father under 40.

were in the age range of 17 to 54 months. The average age was 39 months. Table IV gives the children's ages.

TABLE IV

AGES OF THE CHILDREN IN MONTHS

Child	*Age of Child in Months*	*Child*	*Age of Child in Months*
Rebecca*	44	Tommy	54
Candy	17	Alvin	40
Deborah	44	Angus	31
Tony	34	Nancy	23
Betsy	35	Charles	48
Drew	38	Michael	37
Phillip	50	Peter	35
Caroline	48	Cornelia *	37
Enid	46	Jennifer *	40
Tina	40	Cedric	37
Henry	40		

* These three ages are not accurately known, but they are accurate to within 6 months.

All the children were classified as of normal intelligence. A complete list of the I.Q. ratings was not available, for the schools did not test all their children. It seemed unwise for the investigator to do so, because all the parents had shown such great

patience in allowing the investigator to visit the homes for prolonged periods of time that a further visit for testing seemed an imposition. However, three I.Q.'s found by the Merrill-Palmer Test were obtained; the scores were 103, 106, and 106. Two other I.Q.'s found by the Stanford Binet were 130 and 158. These scores and the teachers' rating of the children, information that was available about their behavior at school, and the investigator's observation of them were used as bases for the judgment that the group was normal or above normal in intelligence.

PROCEDURE FOR THE HOME VISIT

As the initial step in the investigation, the nursery school teacher in charge of the group to which the child belonged introduced the investigator to the mother and asked her cooperation in allowing the record of the child's play behavior to be made in the home. All the parents agreed, and the investigator then made arrangements for the time of the visit. She attempted to visit each home at the same time of day, but could not always do so because of parents' schedules and plans. The beginning of the visiting time ranged from 9:39 a.m. to 5:54 p.m., with more than half the visits beginning between 3:00 p.m. and 5:00 p.m.[1]

When the investigator arrived at the home, she sought to put the parent at his ease by explaining that the child was being observed for his normal play behavior. Each parent was urged to continue with his regular activities as though no outsider was present. A number of parents welcomed the opportunity to talk with someone about their problems, and the investigator was as sympathetic as possible in each case. These conversations sometimes lengthened the visits considerably but they increased rapport between parent and investigator. After the establishment of such rapport, the investigator retired to as inconspicuous a corner as possible to record every contact between parent and child.

[1] The exact times of all visits are found in Appendix A.

DEFINITION OF CONTACT

A contact was defined as a verbal or physical communication between parent and child, whether initiated by the parent or by the child. For example, Alvin sat on the floor and built with his blocks. His father said, "Alvin, get the blocks and spell 'cow.' Do you remember how?" Alvin answered, "No." This was regarded as a verbal contact.

Cornelia bumped her head. Her mother said, "Did you bump your head? Where? Did you hurt it?" Cornelia's mother then rubbed the head. This was recorded as both a verbal and a physical contact.

Deborah sat on the floor leaning against her mother's legs. This was recorded as a physical contact. Tommy climbed onto the bed. His mother pulled him off and slapped his face. This was also recorded as a physical contact.

Any contact which was directed by the parent to the child, or by the child to the parent, was recorded; in fact everything that either the parent or the child did or said was recorded as far as was physically possible since the observer felt it wise to write continuously rather than only when the parent appeared. As a result, a nearly complete picture was made of all that transpired from the beginning to the end of the visit. However, only that behavior which was defined as "contact" was timed and used as the basis for the data.

There were two interesting items of behavior which were recorded but were not included in the definition of contact. One was the parent's talking about the child in his presence to some other adult. For instance, Caroline's mother said to the recorder, "I don't know what to do with Caroline. She isn't herself. She always seems so tired." Caroline stood by listening and then went in and lay down on the bed.

Again, Betsy's father said to some visitors, "Listen to Betsy talk; she says, 'Plop over there, plop over here.' Where does she get that stuff?" Betsy then said, "Plop over there," and smiled at the audience.

Another item of behavior recorded but not timed as contact was that of the parent who remained in the room with the child but who busied herself with her work or merely sat, without addressing the child physically or verbally or being addressed by the child either physically or verbally. For instance, Tina played around the room while her mother hung curtains. According to the definition of contact, neither "contacted" the other, yet obviously "awareness" was present, and a more or less nebulous "contact" occurred. Such "contact" has not been used in this study.

Along this line, there is, however, one unusual record. In a period of one hour and twenty-seven minutes there were only ten minutes of contact between mother and child, in spite of the fact that they were in the same room throughout the period. The following are excerpts from this record.

During one five-minute interval Phillip played with Elaine, his sister, while the mother cooked. The children wrangled over a pencil. The mother put the small baby into his carriage. She said to him, "Sleep a little while; sleep a little while." Phillip and Elaine argued about paper. The mother said to Elaine, "No, no more."

During the next five-minute interval Phillip and Elaine played while the mother held the baby. Phillip said to her, "That's the last paper I'm going to have." His mother said, "Yes." Phillip repeated, "That's the last paper I'm going to have." Again his mother answered, "Yes." He and Elaine continued playing. Their mother continued to hold the baby. Phillip said (of the paper on which he had been writing), "I'm all done; I have no more." His mother replied, "You have?" Elaine then wanted some, and Phillip asked his mother, "Can she have more?" The mother replied, "No, no more."

There were five different five-minute periods in which no contact was made, and in others there was no more contact than Phillip's query, "Is Danny coming tonight?" and his mother's reply, "No."

In spite of this lack of communication, the mother seemed to the recorder to be dominant and forceful. Both children seemed aware of her presence even though she sat still, saying

nothing, and contacts when they occasionally occurred seemed effective. For instance, when Phillip accidentally broke the rung of a chair he said, "Will Daddy know? Will he know? Tell him no one did it." The mother answered, "We will tell him it was loose and you stood on it." She patted his head and left the room. Phillip seemed reassured. At another time, Phillip immediately complied with Elaine's request for his pencil, saying, "I had to give it to you—I was afraid you'd holler." It seems from these and other instances that the mother played a dominant role.

This record failed to supply sufficient contact as defined by the study and hence was not used. It offers, however, provocative questions. How is the influence of a parent communicated? Is the mere presence of a parent any less effective than a verbal or physical contact? How could such influence be analyzed?

LENGTH OF VISIT

Each contact was timed, and a visit concluded whenever thirty minutes of contact had occurred. Two such visits were made to each home at different times of day. These two records are referred to as Record I and Record II.

The length of visit necessary to get thirty minutes of contact varied from 33 minutes to 4 hours 13 minutes. In the record requiring 33 minutes Phillip's father played baseball with him for 27 consecutive minutes. The other 3 minutes were divided between the child's getting a drink from the mother and giving her a message from the father.

In the record requiring 4 hours 13 minutes, the mother ironed and hung curtains, with only an occasional monosyllabic contact with the child. In addition, the mother took the child to the park, and the travel time was excluded from the record because the investigator was unable to record the verbal contact. It is possible that the physical contact of "walking beside" might have been termed "contact," but the investigator felt that "walking beside mother" gave an incomplete picture of the situation, for the accompanying verbal contact was an essential part of it.

TABLE V

TOTAL TIME REQUIRED ON EACH VISIT TO THE HOME TO SECURE THIRTY MINUTES OF "CONTACT"

Child	*Record I*	*Record II*	*Child*	*Record I*	*Record II*
Phillip	1:22	:33	Candy	1:01	1:00
Peter	:38	:38	Deborah	1:01	1:21
Betsy	:50	:38	Rebecca	1:03	1:50
Enid	:47	:42	Charles	1:17	1:08
Michael	:54	:45	Cedric	1:11	1:20
Nancy	:50	1:12	Angus	1:18	1:25
Tommy	3:15	:52	Caroline	1:32	1:28
Cornelia	1:35	:54	Henry	1:52	1:36
Jennifer	2:01	:55	Tina	4:13	1:36
Tony	:55	1:36	Drew	1:03	:42
Alvin	1:15	:58			

There were two other unusually long visits. On Record I of Tommy, the time was 3 hours 45 minutes. During this period the parent left the children with the observer while she marketed. In Record I of Jennifer, the same situation obtained, and 2 hours 1 minute was required for the visit.

The average length of visit necessary to secure thirty minutes of contact was 75 minutes. On Record I the average length of time necessary to achieve the thirty minutes of contact was 85 minutes; on Record II, 66 minutes. An average of two and a half hours were spent in each home. The time required for each visit is shown in Table V.

CHAPTER III

TREATMENT OF THE DATA

THE complete records provided such a wealth and variety of material on parent-child contacts that it was difficult to choose a method of analysis which would bring out an organized picture of parent practices and individual differences.

METHODS TRIED AND REJECTED

Six methods of analysis were attempted and rejected because, although each had some value, each presented certain limitations.

I. The first method tried pigeonholing in an objective category each element of a contact as it appeared in the record. An example [1] follows.

Burgess has been sick. His mother is giving him his cereal. His father sits near-by.

Mother starts to lift child from chair, saying, "All done."

Child squeals.

Mother: "You're right; you're right. I promised you bread and butter."

Child squeals some more.

Mother: "All right, a little milk first. Now will a cracker do as well? I'll get a saucer for the cracker, so you won't get crumbs on the floor."

The episode was analyzed thus:

(1) Mother physically aids child.
(2) Mother suggests routine procedure.
(3) Mother acquiesces to child.
(4) Mother fulfills promise to child.
(5) Mother again acquiesces to child.
(6) Mother questions child.
(7) Mother makes substitute for child.
(8) Mother explains her procedure to child.

[1] This example is taken from a record which was discarded because it was impossible to obtain a second observation period.

This method provides a number of headings under which items from each record can be listed, but the number of headings is so great that comparison of parent practices in the records would be difficult. Use of this method alone would result in many more categories than episodes in the record; the data would be almost too cumbersome for analysis.

However, trial of this method indicated that, if a smaller number of categories could be found to cover the material the contacts could be quantitatively analyzed.

II. The second method analyzed all contacts into verbal or physical classes; e.g., analysis of previous example gives:

Physical:	Mother feeds child.
	Mother lifts child.
	Mother gives child food and dish.
Verbal:	Mother suggests routine procedure.
	Mother acquiesces to child.
	Mother reminds child of her promise.
	Mother acquiesces again.
	Mother questions child.
	Mother explains procedure.

This method shows differences between parents in the frequency of their use of physical and verbal contacts. One mother, for instance, kept her arm around her child for a full thirty minutes while she read to him. Another mother kept her daughter encircled by her arm for ten minutes. These physical contacts were unique, for all other mothers offered only brief physical contacts to their children. But sometimes separating physical from verbal contacts broke an episode into artificial divisions. A gentle pat accompanying the direction, "Go on upstairs, dear," belongs with the term of endearment used simultaneously with the gesture; the two together are one expression of affection. The use of "physical" and "verbal" alone as the categories into which all contacts are separated does not bring out enough of the variations in parent practices. There are too many ways of making both physical and verbal contacts for that simple division to be precise enough to distinguish between them.

III. The third method divided contacts into routine and non-routine practices. Routine practices would include, for example, the mother's taking the child to the toilet, the mother's feeding the child his cereal, the mother's saying, "I think you'd better blow your nose," and holding the handkerchief. A non-routine episode would be, for example:

Mother and child watch boys pulling a rock up a cliff.
The rock is tied by a rope.
Child: "It is sliding down, it is sliding down!"
Mother: "Yes, it is sliding down. Now he's pulling it up again with the rope."

When this classification was used in connection with an analysis of the length of contact of each type of activity, some interesting contrasts were brought out. However, as with trial method II, the categories were not numerous enough to show all the varieties of parent practices in a manner that would emphasize their differences.

IV. A fourth method of analysis was attempted on the basis of initiator and receptor of the contact. The child, for example, initiates contact when he says, "See cake in there." The mother in this case made no response.

Analysis of the example used in the discussion of method I would yield these results:

Mother initiates contact.
Child initiates resistance to mother's contact.
Mother accepts child's initiated resistance.
Child initiates more contact.
Mother again accepts.
Mother initiates compromise.

An indication of whether parent or child was initiator in an episode is useful for revealing the quality of the parent-child relationship, but by itself such a division does not tell enough about the contacts once they are begun. Who began a contact is only a fraction of the information about the contact that should be available in the analysis of the records.

V. The fifth method attempted to apply to parent practices

H. H. Anderson's [2] method of measuring domination and socially integrative behavior in teachers' practices with children. Dominative practices, for example, included such items as:

1. Determining a detail of activity or acting for the child.
2. Direct refusal.
   Child: "Mother, help me string these beads."
   Mother: "No, I have to clean."
3. Postponing or slowing up child.
   Child: "I want to go home."
   Mother: "We'll go home soon."
4. Warning, threats, or conditional promises.
   Mother: "Get away! It's too hot. Stop! I'll drop it just for spite and burn you! Move away," etc.

Integrative practices included such items as these:

1. Extends invitation to activity.
   Mother: "Would you like to help me fix the flowers?"
2. Accepts difference.
   Mother: "Billy, will you dust this?"
   Child: "No, I didn't."
   Mother: "Well, will you please do it for me?"
   Child: "No, I don't want to."
   Mother: "Oh, I'm sorry—I thought you would do it for mother."
3. The build-up. Includes instance where mother helps child arrive at a better definition of a problem or a better solution, without giving the final answer. For instance, in one episode, the child, speaking of the toy truck, says, "I want it down; I want it down." The mother responds, "Here, it goes like this; press this little thing; press it back this way. Push it back; there, that's right."

All the Anderson categories are applicable to parent-child contacts, but they do not give as complete a picture of the parent-child interrelationship for full portrayal of this interplay. Anderson's categories do not provide adequate listing of such items as rejection of the child from parental affection or social membership, or talking about the child in his presence.

VI. The sixth method attempted analysis of the records from the point of view of the child as a learner and, perforce, the parent as an educator. Consideration of the records in these terms required thought about the tabulations which would best

show what parents did to speed or retard the learning process.

Psychologists [8] agree that the child's early years are the most plastic and fruitful for learning life habits of eating, sleeping, elimination, and pleasantness in manner. Studies such as McGraw's [20] and Jersild's [14] give evidence that more complex motor habits could also be learned in these early years which would increase the child's skills to meet life situations and at the same time free him for progressively more constructive activities. Sharpened sensory acuity and a broad background of experience also contribute to the child's ability to cope with his world.

The child should, then, be achieving livable habits, complex (motor) habits or skills, sensory acuity, and a broad background of experience. Analyses of the records should show whether or not the parent is helping the child to achieve these results.

Thumbing through the records shows clearly that the parents in this study were in one way or another playing the role of educators with their children. In fact, so much of what the parents did could be called "education" that the analyses must include more detailed breakdown than division into "educational" and "non-educational" contacts. Yet if the analyses could sort out the contacts in such a way that the methods which parents use for teaching are apparent, some light on parents' techniques as educators would result.

One possibility for more detailed categories of educational techniques was separation according to the subject taught, as, for example, the following excerpts illustrating language education:

Father: "How does the kitty go?"

Child looks at book.
Mother: "What is the baby doing?"

Education in the social amenities is illustrated by the following:

Mother: "Betsy; Aunty is going bye-bye. Could you say, 'Come and see me again'?"

Illustrative of the teaching of broader concepts of social behavior:

Child: "I'm going to kill you."
Grandmother: "That's a very naughty thing to say. We don't kill people. You know what granddaddy said, 'We don't kill people. We care for them. We only kill animals.' "

The following excerpts illustrate the teaching of emotional behavior:

Anger:

Child: "You had a white cookie."
Mother: "They were there, but I didn't eat any."
Child: "Yes." (Slaps mother.)
Mother: (Slaps child.) "Don't you hit me."

Affection:

Mother: "Now come on and I'll give you a strawberry. There you are." (Mother hugs child.)

Fear:

(Children are jumping off bed. Mother enters.)
Mother: "Your father will come up if you jump. Henry, you play by yourself."
(Mother leaves. Children jump, hear footsteps.)
Child: "Here he comes! Oh, here he comes! Get under the bed!"

These are examples of academic instruction:

Mother: "What color is this?"
Child: "White."
Mother: "That's right. What color is this?"
Child: "Green."
Mother: "That's right."

Child: "The other day we went to see Santa Claus."
Mother: "Oh, that wasn't the other day. That was months ago before Christmas."

All these excerpts would display their differences even more clearly if they were classified, not only as examples of parents' teaching techniques, but also under more specific headings, such as "punishing," "cautioning," or "threatening," since such head-

ings would preserve the character of the incident more fully than vague categories such as "educational technique" or "teaching emotional behavior."

METHOD FINALLY ADOPTED

Selection of parental categories. The method finally adopted for handling the data was arrived at by rescrutinizing the records; the kinds of incidents, emphases, and stresses that were repeated again and again in the records were used to constitute the main categories of parent behavior. Some few categories were included as answers to questions that come to mind when one thinks of parent-child relationships—questions about obedience, respect for other people's property, punishment, and so on. The second basis for choosing the categories helped to answer the question of whether or not the recorded samples of parent behavior provided sufficient material for the study of the actual incidence of the child problems seemingly encountered by parents.

The two methods of selection overlapped, but each seemed valid and profitable.

The categories finally selected to answer some of the questions concerning parent-child relationships and to present the practices of the parents were as follows:

Gives academic instruction
Bestows affection
Blames the child
Cautions the child
Dictates to the child
Diverts the child
Hurries the child
Ignores the child
Encourages the child in use of imagination
Interferes with the child
Encourages the child in acquisition of language
Encourages the child in motor learning
Praises the child

Provokes the curiosity of the child
Instructs the child in distinctions of property rights
Punishes the child
Offers reasons to the child
Reassures the child
Helps the child in routine situations
Enjoys the child as a social companion
Instructs the child in acquisition of social amenities
Talks about the child in his presence
Uses threats

These categories were defined and the data analyzed from the point of view of contacts initiated by the parent. The numerical tallies were interpreted to give a picture of certain parent practices and to show individual differences between parents. The interrelation between practices of parents and the behavior of children was pointed out in three further sections.

One section made use of a rating scale which attempted to classify the child as to various traits—whether he was happy, secure, competent, etc.—and these traits were examined in relation to the behavior of the parent.

A second section tallied certain behavior items of the child, such as teasing, helping, obeying, and resisting. This analysis was interpreted in connection with the parent's behavior.

A third section presented a detailed analysis of one individual child and his parents. Attention was directed to the difference in practices of the parents and the resultant behavior in the child.

Selection of children's categories. Nine practices of the children were chosen to represent some of their behavior in relation to that of their parents. The particular categories were selected largely because they supplemented the analysis of various parental categories. For instance, in analyzing the parental category of *Bestows affection,*[2] it seemed appropriate to compare the incidents of parental affection with those of the children, and this gave rise to the category of *Displays affection for the parent.*

[2] See page 60.

Likewise, it seemed relevant to compare *Dictates to the child*[3] and *Interferes with the child*[4] with similar categories of *Dictates to the parent* and *Resists the parent.* An analysis of crying was indicated since it occurred frequently as a response to various parental practices.

Several categories, such as *Helps the parent* and *Teases the parent,* were included because of their emphasis in the records themselves. The categories chosen to represent some of the children's behavior were as follows:

Displays affection for the parent
Cries
Dictates to the parent
Helps the parent
Manifests hostility toward the parent
Obeys the parent
Resists the parent
Seeks independence of the parent
Teases the parent

Classification of parent approaches. After the selection and definition of the final parental categories, parent contacts were tallied under the appropriate headings. As this process went on, a further classification of the parents seemed required. As each record was scrutinized and the contacts were allocated to the appropriate category, the investigator felt more and more convinced that the quantitative tally was the obvious result of an apparently basic approach of the parent toward his child. These approaches were often markedly different, and four kinds —dictatorial, cooperative, appeasing, and temporizing—were defined in order to study this distribution of parental point of view.

The basis for the grouping was the impression-on-the-whole, the Gestalt of all of the parent's approaches to his child. It included the total behavior composed of such subjective items as tone of voice, facial expression, and postural attitude, as well as

[3] See page 78.
[4] See page 78.

the more objective items shown by the actual words spoken and the larger, more easily defined movements. This latter behavior might be at variance with a parent's total approach. That is, during the course of the observation period, one parent might use authoritarian, conciliatory, situational, or mutual give-and-take methods at various times in dealing with his child, but the sum total of his behavior seemed to indicate the approach he habitually used toward his child.

VALUABLE ELEMENTS OF REJECTED METHODS RETAINED

In the final method used in selecting certain categories, defining them, and distributing the contacts according to these categories, an attempt was made to use the valuable elements of each rejected method.

Some of the parental categories finally selected—praising, punishing, threatening, and diverting the child—are suggestive of the categories tried in the first method, but in the final method the number of categories was kept to twenty-three.

Bestowing affection, Interfering, Punishing the child have been divided into verbal and physical classifications, a treatment suggested by the second rejected method.

The inclusion of one category, *Helping the child in routine situations,* was inspired by consideration of the third rejected method, and for the same reason *Resisting* and *Seeking independence of the parent* were analyzed for routine and non-routine activities. This distinction was prompted also by the differences in the child's reactions to routine and non-routine situations.

An indication of the initiator-receptor role, as discussed under method four, was shown in the category of *Ignoring the child,* and also in a comparison of parents' and children's *Dictates* and parents' and children's *Bestowal of affection.*

Some of the practices classified as "dominative" or "integrative" by H. H. Anderson [2], as discussed under the fifth rejected method, are similar in content to some of the finally selected

categories when they are separated into positive and negative groupings. Under positive, for instance, are listed such "integrative" practices as *Praising the child, Reassuring the child,* or *Bestowing affection;* whereas under negative practices are listed such "dominative" behavior as *Dictating to the child, Blaming* or *Hurrying the child.*

No method was completely rejected, because any part of it which was valuable was retained either directly or indirectly.

ACCURACY OF THE DATA

Observer agreement. To reduce the possibility of error to lowest terms, the investigator and an independent worker who was accustomed to observing children by the direct observation method simultaneously observed and recorded the behavior of one mother and child for a full observation period.[5] The reliability of the observation was tested by computing the "percentage of agreement" between the two workers. The records taken simultaneously but independently were compared, item by item, and a check was made for similarities and dissimilarities. From these checks the "percentage of agreement" obtained according to the procedure described by Arrington [3] was 95 per cent.

Agreement on tabulation. Two workers independently analyzed and tabulated the parent-child contacts as found in the independently secured records. The agreement between the two workers was found to be 90 per cent.

Internal consistency of the data. Split-half correlations applied to data of this kind really show a measure of the variation of the parent-child behavior from one situation to the next.[6] However, they may also give some indication of the consistency of the data, and for this indication are analyzed for reliability. Rank-difference correlations were computed between parent-child contact scores on the first and second fifteen-minute periods of a record, and also between parent-child contact scores on the

[5] Until thirty minutes of contact (see page 13) had been recorded.

[6] For instance, *Helping* and *Crying* occur more in routine situations than in social situations, yet routine situations are not likely to occur equally throughout the record even as they do not in real life.

first fifteen minutes of each of two records. The resulting coefficients, together with values obtained with the use of the Spearman-Brown formula, were as follows:

First 15 minutes of Record I *vs.* Second 15 minutes of Record I		First 15 minutes of Record I *vs.* First 15 minutes of Record II	
raw *r*	S-B	raw *r*	S-B
.658	.95	.558	.93

Complete Record I *vs.* Complete Record II	
raw *r*	S-B
.687	.96

Agreement on grouping of parent approaches. The accuracy of the grouping of the parent approaches was determined by computing the percentage of agreement between the investigator's grouping and the independent worker's. The independent worker classified the parent approaches after careful study of the records. The percentage of agreement was found to be 95 per cent.

Agreement of rating children on scale. The accuracy of the scoring of the children on the rating scale was determined by finding the agreement between the scoring by the investigator and that by an independent worker who scored the children after careful scrutiny of the records. The coefficient of correlation between the two scorings was found to be $.64 \pm .02$.

CHAPTER IV

PARENT PRACTICES, PARENT APPROACHES, AND CHILDREN'S PRACTICES DEFINED

THE DEFINITIONS used in this study are somewhat arbitrary ones. They were derived empirically on the basis of the data involved.

PARENT PRACTICES

The categories selected to present the parent practices were defined in terms of their use in the records. For instance, *Gives academic instruction* was differentiated from *Provokes the curiosity* by the conscious intent of the parent and by the type of material presented. Where the parent consciously taught specific information, particularly of the three R's variety, it was categorized as *Gives academic instruction;* where the parent imparted less pedantic information, and did it without apparent intent to instruct, it was categorized as *Provokes the curiosity.*

The choice of some of the labels may warrant questioning, and some of the categories may seem to overlap. The investigator has attempted to point out and clarify these distinctions in the definitions of such categories.

Gives academic instruction. This category was defined as formal teaching. It was a contact in which the parent was conscious of the goal, and the goal was teaching the child some specific fact, such as: "This color is blue"; "That is a 'B'; your name is spelled B-I-L-L"; "That is a drill; you use it for making holes"; etc.

Gives academic instruction differed from *Provokes the curiosity of the child*[1] in two ways. First, the parent was conscious of imparting information and intended to teach; in provoking

[1] See page 35.

curiosity the parent may have been as successful in teaching, but his intent was not obvious. For instance, if the parent said, "This color is blue," it was classified as *Gives academic instruction;* whereas, if the parent said, "See the blue sky," it was classified as *Provokes the curiosity of the child.* If the parent said, "Count the blocks, one-two-etc.," it was classified as *Gives academic instruction* because the parent intended to teach counting. If the parent said, "Let's count the blocks as we put them away," it was classified as *Provokes the curiosity,* because the intent of the parent was to put away the blocks rather than to teach counting.

The second way in which *Gives academic instruction* differed from *Provokes the curiosity of the child* lay in the material taught. *Gives academic instruction* included all teaching relevant to the formal school subjects, such as reading, spelling, arithmetic, and so on, and all correction of information. It did not, however, include instruction in learning a motor skill, as that was analyzed separately.[2] *Provokes the curiosity of the child* did not include the element of correction, nor did it include the subjects usually accepted as the three R's.

Gives academic instruction was, then, the intentional imparting of information, usually of an academic nature.

Bestows affection was defined as that form of behavior by the parent which indicated overt tenderness or fondness for the child. It included both verbal and physical indications of such behavior. For instance, "angel face," "dear," "sweetie," "sugar plum," and similar expressions illustrated verbal signs of affection. Other examples of verbal affection were illustrated by the context. For instance, when Alvin's father said, "Here, son, let me help you," "son" became a term of endearment. Or when Candy's father hugged her and said, "You are my Indian; you are my dope," both "Indian" and "dope" illustrated verbal affection.

Physical affection included any tenderness or fondness shown by physical action on the part of the parent. It was illustrated

[2] See page 75.

by kissing, hugging, and other forms of behavior, such as brushing hair from the eyes or patting on the head. Smiles also indicated physical signs of affection. Looking at the child with "tender glances" was not included, as it is too nebulous for "contact."

Bestows affection, then, included all verbal and physical signs of tenderness or love which were sufficiently overt to be recorded.

Blames the child was that form of behavior in which the parent found fault with or reproached the child in a way that was not constructive. Neither suggestion for improvement nor hope of reform was held out to him. The implication was that the child chose to be that way and would remain so. The category included blaming or finding fault with the child for being unpleasant, and was evidenced by such remarks as, "You are awfully mean" or "How dirty your things are. You are like a dog, not like a little girl." Children were also blamed for being "bad." This included all instances in which the parent said, "You are bad," or "Bad boy." Invidious comparisons and social ostracism also were included under *Blaming* as, for instance, when one mother said, "She eats cleaner than you," and another one said, "Nobody wants you."

Blames the child included all those practices of the parents in which the child was unmitigatedly reproached.

Cautions the child was that behavior of the parent in which, by word or deed, he notified the child of danger, or possible danger. The danger might be to himself, as when Deborah's mother said, "Don't run with the bottle," or Tina's mother said, "Wait; there is glass in it," or Peter's mother said, "Don't swallow the bones." The danger might be to others, as when Cornelia's mother said, "Don't throw yourself on me like that; you might hurt me," or when Charles' mother said, "Take care; the baby will fall."

The danger might be to property, as when Rebecca's mother said, "Look out for the pail (spilling)," or when Henry's mother said, "That's my fresh wash, be careful (of dirtying)," or when

Michael's mother said, "Not so much," when Michael was pouring his milk.

Cautions the child was, then, all behavior of the parent which admonished the child for his own or others' benefit.

Dictates to the child was defined as that behavior of the parent in which commands were peremptorily thrown at the child with no appeal to any of the motivations which might have brought him to do or to cease doing the act without direct order. The child was called upon simply to obey the parent's behest, without being given any supplementary reason for responding. The manner of the parent excluded possible discussion by the child, for unthinking obedience was the only basis for action offered him.

The presence of other reasons for action besides obedience alone removed many contacts from this category. Among these were demands which embodied an appeal to reason, to self-protection, to social motivation, to social conformity, or to affection. A demand like that of Nancy's mother, "Put it back," was listed under *Dictates to the child,* while the admonition of Charles' mother, "Don't pick her up; you will make her fall," was not, because it embodied an appeal to reason.[3] The demand of Tommy's mother, "Come on, now, eat," was classified under *Dictates to the child,* though the warning of Tony's mother, "Get away, you'll get burned," was not, for the latter command brought with it an appeal to both reason[4] and self-protection. "Take your feet off," "Give me the pencil," "Stop that," "Don't fool around," fell into the category of *Dictates to the child,* but "Stand up like a big boy," and "Play nice," did not because they included an appeal to the child's social aspirations.[5] Commands which were accompanied by "please" likewise fell into this category.

Commands characterized by terms of endearment, carrying an appeal to affection, were not classified under *Dictates.*

[3] See analysis of *Offers reasons to the child,* page 56.
[4] See analysis of *Offers reasons to the child,* page 56.
[5] See analysis of *Encourages the child in acquisition of social amenities,* page 81.

"Don't talk so much," "Don't fool around," "Put it back," are direct and unadorned commands. "Don't write on the floor, honey," "Come here, sweet honey girl," and "Hurry, dear, eat your vegetables," provide affection as an additional inducement for the child to act. Smiles and gestures could also have provided the affection inducement, had they been present. As discussed under *Bestows affection,*[6] there were only eleven instances of smiling and these occurred in a social situation rather than in a managerial one. That a smile could have provided added motivation for obedience and was not utilized is worthy of note.

Under *Dictates to the child* were listed some of the contacts which also appeared under *Interferes with the child.*[7] However, *Dictates to the child* differed from *Interferes with the child* in that all acts of interference brought to a stop an activity of the child, or called forth an activity counter to the one in which he was engaged. *Dictates,* however, did not necessarily interrupt nor overtly change the course of the child's behavior.

Dictates to the child included, then, those commands or demands by the parent which asked from the child nothing but obedience—not thought, regard for social mores, affection, or any of the considerations the child might have used to make his own decisions.

Diverts the child was that behavior of the parent in which he redirected the child's interest for purposes of his own. The parent presented to the child an alternative course of action when the pursuit in which the child was engaged was considered damaging or at least less preferable by the parent. For instance, Caroline cried when she could not take a walk, and her mother diverted her attention by saying, "Do you want to help me make beds?" Drew cried when his mother would not allow him to play down the hill. She said to him, "Get your book and we will read a story." Candy cried when her mother removed a locket. Her mother said, "Where is your ball?" In

[6] See analysis of *Bestows affection,* page 60.
[7] See page 78.

every case the parent attempted to switch the child's interest from a non-approved to an approved activity.

Hurries the child was defined as that activity of the parent in which she peremptorily hastened the child by word or deed. Hurrying the child by word often took the following form: "Hurry, only a few more bites"; "Take off your shoe. Hurry!" "Close the door; make it snappy!"

Hurrying the child by deed was that activity of the parent in which she physically rather than verbally attempted to motivate the child to speed. For instance, the mother gave Jennifer a slight push when she wanted her to hurry to the bathroom, and Drew's mother put on his rubbers when he took too long.

Hurries the child included all activity of the parent which urged on or hastened the child to desired activity.

Ignores the child was that behavior of the parent in which he willfully disregarded an act of the child. There may have been instances in which the parent actually did not observe the child's act, but ostensibly the parent knowingly passed over the behavior. The child's behavior might have been a direct overture. For instance, Phillip looked at pictures of baseball players, pointed excitedly to one, and said, "That's Davies!" and Tony said, "Come on, Mamma, and play catch with me."

Or the child's behavior might have been such that in itself it called the parent's attention to the child. For instance, Tina, with a glance at her mother, pounded on the window, and, when Nancy's mother said, "No. No candy," Nancy took the candy. In these illustrations the parent disregarded both the direct overtures and the attention-calling behavior. This lack of action or recognition by the parent of the child's behavior was called *Ignores the child.*

Encourages the child in use of imagination was that behavior of the parent which encouraged the child in "make-believe." For example, when the bath water gurgled out, Alvin's father said, "The water was saying 'good-bye'." Jennifer's mother

asked, "Are you playing monkey?" When Jennifer struck notes on the piano and asked, "What sound is this?" her mother answered, "The sun is shining." Peter put shoes on his mother, and said, "Do they fit?" She answered, "Yes, I guess I'll buy them."

Angus' mother said to him, when he played in a rain puddle, "Are you a fish? You swim beautifully." And when Nancy knocked on the door, pretending to be a visitor, her mother said, "Come in, Miss Chatterbox. How are you today?"

This category included all the parents' encouragement of "make-believe," whether initiated by the child or by the parent.

Interferes with the child was that behavior of the parent which interrupted or cut in upon the child's activity in opposition to his wishes. When the interfering contacts were given in a dictatorial manner, they also appeared under *Dictates to the child.* In general, however, this category differed from *Dictates to the child* in that all interfering contacts actually stopped an activity, or set up an activity counter to the child's desires. Dictatorial contacts did not necessarily have either of these results.

When the parent interfered with the child, the interruption might be the legitimate claim of routine tasks, as when Tommy's mother said, "Come here, and get your cod-liver oil," and Tommy left his play to do so. Or the interruption might be of doubtful legitimacy, as when, on a rainy day, Charles jumped around the room and his mother interrupted with, "Don't jump."

The interruption might stop the child's activity, or it might clash with his desires, as when the parent does something which the child does not want done. For instance, Tina's mother closed the window when Tina wanted it open, or Tony's mother moved his "cooking"—set of pots and pans—from the floor to the table.

The interference might be given in a cooperative manner, as when Nancy's mother said, "We mustn't write on Daddy's book," or in a dictatorial manner, as when Henry climbed on the bed and his mother pulled him off saying, "Stop that."

Interferes with the child included any behavior of the parent

which changed the child's activity against his desires, regardless of the purpose of the parent or the behavior employed by him.

Encourages the child in acquisition of language was defined as any direct attempt on the part of the parent to aid the child in learning the language. It might be done by explaining the meaning of a new word. When Cornelia's mother said, "Yes, that milk was intended for you," and Cornelia asked, "What does that mean, Mummy?" her mother replied, " 'Intended' means 'meant' for you."

The correction of an incorrectly used word afforded another example; for instance "ant tray" for "ant trap," or "hair Tommy" for "hair tonic." Another language contact consisted of aiding the child in pronunciation, as when the child said, "I 'ove 'ou," and his mother said distinctly, "I *l*ove *y*ou, too."

Any direct aid to the child in his acquisition of language was included in this category.

Encourages the child in motor learning was defined as any attempt by the parent to teach or encourage the child to take care of himself. Six different techniques—verbal encouragement, physical encouragement, verbal instruction, physical demonstration, physical assistance, and waiting for the child to perform a motor task—were included in this category. One situation of motor learning might include all these techniques, but they were analyzed separately because of the individual problems and interests which each presented.

Verbal encouragement included such remarks as, "You can button your own pants" or "You can open the box. You try."

Physical encouragement included such instances as Candy's father's jumping rope with her or Phillip's father's playing baseball with him.

Verbal instruction included such remarks as, "Brush your hair forward, not backward," and "Put the toes in the sock first."

Demonstration included such instances as Drew's mother's showing him how to release the spring on a dump truck or

Michael's father's showing the boy how to hold a paint brush.

Physically aiding the child as an encouragement in learning a motor skill included such instances as spreading out pants so they could be readily put on or guiding a hand for writing.

Waiting for the child to perform a motor skill seemed essential for its learning and, when a parent exercised such patience, it was analyzed as part of this category. Such instances occurred when the mother waited for the child to dry his hands or to put on his pants or lace his shoes.

Praises the child was that action of the parent which commended the child or his behavior. It included such remarks as, "That's a good boy," "That was sweet of you," "That's a good idea," "Oh, that's a nice one!" (mud pie).

Provokes the curiosity of the child was defined as that behavior of the parent which gave incidental stimulation to the child's intellectual growth. It differed from *Gives academic instruction*[8] in that the parent was not intent upon a teaching process, and in that the stimulating material was not of the usual pedagogical variety. It included questions which might make the child think, might encourage him to express himself, or might encourage him to engage in an informative pursuit. It also included statements of information, stories, songs, and games. Contacts which illustrated the above criteria included such remarks as "What is the color of an egg?" "What did you do in school today?" "That caterpillar will soon become a butterfly."

Provokes the curiosity of the child included all contacts in which the parent mentally stimulated the child by the use of incidental or gratuitous information, questioning, or activity.

Instructs the child in distinctions of property rights was defined as that behavior of the parent in which he tried to impress upon the child the rights and privileges of ownership. It included such admonitions as "This is mine, but yours is over

[8] See page 27.

there," "No, you can't wear it. It is Daddy's hat," or "That belongs to the little girl." All the parent-child contacts which emphasized the importance of the child's making distinctions between his own and other people's goods were included in this category.

Punishes the child was that behavior of the parent which inflicted upon the child a penalty for actions which the parent considered undesirable. The punishment may have been given when the child was aware of his wrongdoing, such as slapping Nancy's hand when she ignored her mother's admonitions to leave the sink; or the penalty may have been given when the child was unaware of wrongdoing, such as slapping the child when he accidentally bumped the mother. The "punishment" was sometimes administered to make the child aware of his wrongdoing, as when Betsy's mother took away a book which Betsy had repeatedly allowed to fall to the floor; or the "punishment" might have been administered as retaliation against the child, not for wrongdoing, but for annoying the parent, as when Tommy's mother slapped him because he got on the bed.

Punishes the child included all penalties which the parent gave the child because of action which was undesired by the parent. Threatening the child[9] and blaming the child[10] might have been included in this category but were analyzed separately for the sake of clarity and interest.

Offers reasons to the child included those contacts in which the parent offered an explanation or justification for his actions or desires. It was illustrated by such remarks as "I have to steady it (potty), dear. You are going to spill it," or "I can't come now, because I am busy." Any contact in which the parent said or implied "because" was included in this category.

Reassures the child was that behavior of the parent in which by actions or speech he attempted to restore the child's self-

[9] See *Uses threats,* page 38.
[10] See *Blames the child,* page 29.

confidence and sense of security. For example, when the child ran behind his mother at the sight of a large dog, the mother said, "No, the dog won't bite you"; or when the child cried for his favorite toy, the mother said, "I'll keep it for you while you eat; you may have it afterward." Whenever the parent's effort was directed toward evoking in the child a sense of confidence in himself or his environment, the contact was included in this category.

Helps the child in routine situations included those contacts in which the parent performed a task as part of the habitual care of the child; practices related to toileting, eating, dressing, washing, and the like. Several of the verbal accompaniments to these practices were analyzed under other categories. For instance, when Rebecca's mother fed her and said, "Now you turn your face around or I'll put you to bed with no supper," the verbal accompaniment was tallied under *Uses threats,*[11] and when Candy's mother said, "Hurry now, hurry!" after seating her on the toilet the verbal admonition was tallied under *Hurries the child.*[12] Some of these practices were tallied under *Helps the child in routine situations* and other categories. For instance, when Peter's mother spread out his pants, this was tallied under *Helps the child in routine situations* and also under *Encourages the child in motor learning,*[13] and when Alvin's father pulled him from his play to undress him, the instance was tallied under both this category and *Interferes with the child.*[14]

This category included all the instances of child-care regardless of the technique of handling involved.

Enjoys the child as a social companion was based on that contact between parent and child which seemed to spring from mutual companionship. It indicated a relationship of equality rather than the usual one of parent-child inequality. For in-

[11] See page 68.
[12] See page 77.
[13] See page 75.
[14] See page 78.

stance, when Betsy's mother said, "My, you are surely getting the old pep back," the contact was classified as social because it indicated social comradeship. But when Betsy's mother said, in the same situation, "My, I must take your temperature," it was not classified as social because it carried with it the parent's responsibility.

Instructs the child in acquisition of social amenities was that behavior of the parent in which he attempted to encourage the child in acquiring graces which lead to smoothness of social intercourse. These comprised specific acts, such as saying "please," "thank you," "excuse me," and so on, but not the more fundamental qualities, such as generosity or kindness. Any direct attempt to instill these social graces was included, such as when Tommy's mother said, "Don't pick from your mouth while you are eating," or when Jennifer's mother said, "Let him have it; he is your guest," or when Betsy's mother said, "Aunty is going; say 'Bye-bye.'" Included, also, was any indirect attempt to instill these socially acceptable attitudes, such as when Peter's mother said, "Will you please get Mother's rubbers?" or when Rebecca's mother said, "Good-bye, dear; I'll be back soon," or when Peter's father said, "Peter, this is Mr. B——."

Talks about the child in his presence included behavior that occurred when the parent spoke in any way of the child to another person while the child was present. Although these incidents were not termed "contact,"[15] they did constitute an interesting parental influence. Such remarks as "Sarah's so thin, but I can't make her eat," or "He really is the dearest child I have ever seen," or again "I am so worried about Sammy. He plays with the bad boys next door," were included in this category.

Uses threats was defined as that behavior of the parent in which he expressed the intention of arousing some form of

[15] See page 11.

distress in the child. The forms of distress included physical pain, emotional conflict, and social or material deprivation. They were illustrated by such remarks as "I'll take the strap," "I won't like you if you do that," and "You can't go for the boat ride." All remarks which involved threatening the child were included in this category.

DEFINITIONS OF PARENT APPROACHES

The definitions of the parent approaches must be considered as somewhat arbitrary. No one parent is "pure" with respect to any form of behavior. The parent classed as cooperative in approach will occasionally be dictatorial, and the parent classed as dictatorial in approach will sometimes use appeasing practices. Regardless of the approach which the parent seemed to use habitually, he would employ at one time or another dictatorial, situational, cooperative, or appeasing practices.

The basis for the grouping was the impression-on-the-whole, the configuration of the parent's total behavior. It was the result of what seemed to be his predominant belief regarding his child rather than the result of accumulated tallies of practices. Peremptory commands could be robbed of their dictatorial force by a cooperative attitude shown by tone of voice, gentleness of touch, or the use of a smile; and affectionate words uttered in sarcastic tones could portray a dictatorial approach.

Each parent seemed to hold a basic point of view regarding his relationship to the child, and this point of view was sufficiently different to warrant the four classifications of parental approach: dictatorial, cooperative, appeasing, and temporizing.

The investigator has attempted to point out those seemingly different points of view in the following definitions:

Dictatorial approach. A dictatorial approach, according to the classification used in this study, was one which seemed preponderantly authoritarian. The parent's relationship with the child seemed based on the principle of obedience to authority as opposed to individual liberty. The parent seemed to believe

that he was entitled to obedience because of his power rather than because the child had recognized the legitimacy of the parent's claim. The following instances are illustrative.

Michael announced, "I'll paint this egg green." His father answered, "Since when is an egg green? Michael, what is the color of an egg? Did you get paint on your lips? Come here. Let me see. Stand up! Did you put this in your mouth? Open your mouth!" and leaving no opportunity for response at any time, he washed out Michael's mouth. A second example concerned Tommy. His mother said, "Tommy, come on and wash your face. Don't talk so much. Come on." She pulled him over to the sink. When Tommy howled lustily, she said, "What's the matter? See what a bad boy you are. Other children don't do that. You fresh thing." Tommy answered, "You fresh thing," and his mother slapped his face. Again, Tony said, "See my garage." His mother replied, "Now be quiet. What's the matter with you? Go on and do what you were doing. Build your house like you did before"; and when Tony climbed onto a chair, his mother said, "Tony, get down. Don't be bad. . . ."

The dictatorial approach seemed to stem from the parent's fundamental belief that he was entitled to obedience because of his authority rather than because the child had recognized the need for it.

Cooperative approach. A parent presenting this approach, according to the classification used in this study, was one whose behavior with the child seemed preponderantly friendly. It was based on the parent's apparently fundamental belief that he should so explain his claims that the child would recognize the need for obedience. Mutual respect formed the basis for collective action. This approach was illustrated as follows:

When Cornelia bumped her head, the mother rubbed it, saying, "Did you bump your head? Where? Did it hurt?" When Cornelia said, "I want a drink," the mother replied, "You go up and wash your face and I'll get the drink up there."

When Betsy took a book off the shelf, her mother said, "Put the book on the bed. Don't let it fall off." When it did, she

said, "Oh, oh, better hand the book to Mummy." As Betsy picked up pictures which fell from the book, the mother said, "There is another picture on the floor. Mummy will hold the book now so it won't fall."

When Nancy picked up a book, her mother said, "Is that your book, sweetheart? Where did you get it? Those aren't your books over there." When Nancy began to write in the book, her mother continued with, "And don't write in the nice book." Nancy said, "I look at it," and her mother said, "Yes, you look at it, but don't write in it."

The cooperative approach showed an attempt to understand and to help the child in his desires and pursuits.

Temporizing approach. According to the classification used in this study, this approach was one in which the parent's relationship with the child seemed preponderantly "situational." If the situation was pleasant, the parent was pleasant; if the situation got out of hand, the parent became confused. He did not know what he should do, what he had done, nor what he would do. He followed no pattern of behavior, but distractedly fell from one situation to the next.

For instance, Henry's mother went into the room where the children were playing, and said, "Who opened the window? Henry? Come in. Come in. Someone's coming. You are not going out today. That's enough. Get off the bed." Henry said, "Buy cheese, Mamma; buy cheese!" She replied, "I'll see." Henry begged, "Give me money; give me money!" Again his mother replied, "I'll see."

When they gathered for supper, she said, "Here is where Henry sits." Henry, at this moment, upset the clean wash. His mother said, "Oh, my clean wash!" And then as Henry began to pick it up, she added, "Oh, this is lovely. What a good boy," but as Henry again tried to move the basket, she said, "Wait, Henry, just a minute. Please don't upset the wash again." Henry continued to try to pull the wash basket, saying, "Take the wash away. Take it away." His mother said, "No, no! Wait until after dinner. Leave it there. I've got no place for

it! Leave it!" Henry continued to pull and his mother said, "All right. Move the table out." Henry ignored this and said, "Where is the cream cheese?"

Another instance of the temporizing approach was noted in the following instance from Deborah's record: Deborah called to her mother, "Mummy, the baby cried," to which the mother replied, "All right, you go wash your hands. Don't run with the stool. Put it there—well, put it anywhere in the bathroom, or any place. Come on, did you wash your hands? Come on, hurry, it is late."

Enid's records provided further temporizing behavior in such instances as the following: The sister (acting with the brother as mother-substitute) said, "Spell 'rat,' Enid," to which Enid replied, "I'll spit in your eye." The sister enjoined, "Hey, Enid, don't be tough like that." Enid repeated, "I'll spit in your eye." The sister, "Enid, don't be like that. Shut up." The brother, hugging her, "Don't talk like that. Don't pick your nose. Here, blow your nose. You get the table all dirty from marking. Bad girl. What do you want me to draw?" And the brother yelled, "Hey, stop it, write on the paper. You'll get taken to the police station." Enid replied, "I'd kick. I'll spit in your eye."

The temporizing approach showed no stability of belief of the parent in his child. He was kind and unkind, helpful and unhelpful, constructive and the opposite as he responded to each varying situation.

Appeasing approach. This approach, according to the classification used in this study, was used by a parent whose relationship with his child seemed preponderantly conciliatory. The parent seemed to be afraid of the child, who had apparently gained control of the situation. Sometimes the child seemed to be aware of his power, and sometimes not; but the parent recognized the situation and avoided issues. Even when an issue had arisen, the parent would avoid grappling with it and would attempt circumvention by some means of diversion.

For instance, when Angus' mother found he had torn the

sheets on his bed, she said, "There is a little boy here who tears all the sheets. I don't think he means to, but he does. Now stand up, Honey-bun."

When Angus tried to take the bandage off his circumcision, his mother said, "Leave that on! You know, I was talking to Nanny on the phone and she said, 'How is my Angus and when is he coming to Nana's house?' Now will you let me get some work done? I have to make Brother's bed." Angus cooperated with, "I'll watch." His mother quickly agreed, "Then someday you can make beds," but Angus had a change of heart and said, "I want to get out (of bed)," to which his mother made quick reply, "To get out! You'll be surprised what I'll give you. Here, take this."

Again, Cedric rode his tricycle while his grandmother, as best she could, removed his wraps. As she did so, she said, "Don't hurt yourself, Honey-bunch. Stand on the good part of the tricycle. Now let's take off your shoes and put on the light ones." Cedric continued riding the tricycle, talking the while about school. Granny said, "That was sweet to give him the penny. Here are the other shoes. Shall we put these on?" "No," decided Cedric. Granny pleaded, "Please don't talk to Granny that way. Now let's comb your hair," but she left the question of shoes and Cedric continued to ride on his tricycle.

The parent presenting an appeasing approach tried to prevent trouble at all costs. He constantly offered conciliatory proposals rather than face an issue.

CONTRASTS BETWEEN PARENT APPROACHES

The parent presenting a dictatorial approach appeared to believe in obedience as his right, as opposed to the parent presenting a cooperative approach who attempted to achieve acquiescence by an appeal to reason. The parent presenting a temporizing approach seemed to have no settled beliefs and no accepted pattern of behavior. He tried one method after another, now hugging, now "smacking." Neither he nor the child knew what to expect. The appeasing parent had smoothness of

social intercourse as his goal, and his child seemed to have accepted the role of master.

The following illustrates the varied parental approaches.

A three-year-old has climbed out of bed. The dictatorial approach shows a parent who grabs the child by the arm, rushes him across the floor, lifts him into bed with a "smack" on the back, and says, "Now get in there and stay. I don't want to hear another thing from you tonight."

The cooperative approach presents a parent who leads the child back by holding his hand, and says, "That was too bad. Your job is to stay in your crib. Climb in now, and I will cover you up. Sleep tight and I'll see you in the morning."

The temporizing approach presents a parent who says, "Oh my, this is awful. Now why are you out of bed? Hurry in! I want to hear my favorite newscaster. What shall I do with you? Now, here is a piece of candy. Go to sleep or I'll spank you."

The appeasing approach shows a parent who says, "Why here's a little boy out of bed. I don't believe he knows how to go to sleep. Here's the bunny crying to sleep with you. Crawl in with the bunny and keep him warm. Isn't it a nice night? You'll go to sleep for Mother, won't you, darling? Goodnight, dear."

DEFINITIONS OF CHILDREN'S PRACTICES

Nine categories were selected to present the practices of the children. These categories were chosen and defined somewhat arbitrarily according to their use in the records in a manner similar to that accorded the parents' practices. The investigator has attempted to make this usage clear in the following definitions.

Displays affection for the parent was any overt act of fondness or tenderness shown by the child for the parent. It included both verbal and physical signs of affection. Verbal signs of affection included such remarks as "I love you," or "I'd like to hold your hand all the time and never go to school." Physical signs of affection included such acts as hugging, kissing, leaning

against the parent, or sitting upon the lap. Smiles were also included as examples of affection. Any gesture of fondness, either verbal or physical, directed toward the parent by the child was included in this category.

Cries was defined as any audible lamentation which contorted the face, usually accompanied by tears and caused by pain, anger, or sorrow. For instance, Caroline cried when her mother spanked her; Alvin cried when water splashed in his face; and Candy cried when she refused to eat. Every instance of the child's crying was included in this category.

Dictates to the parent was behavior by the child which consisted of peremptorily commanding or demanding action of the parent. It was illustrated by such incidents as Cedric's dropping nut shells upon the floor and saying, "Pick up the shells, Granny," or Caroline's saying, "Tie my shoe."

Helps the parent was defined as that activity of the child in which he either offered to help or did help. It was illustrated by Peter's getting a cigarette for his mother, or Tina's cleaning up spilled sand.

Manifests hostility toward the parent was any behavior of the child which indicated ill will or antagonism toward the parent. It included both physical and verbal demonstrations, such as making faces at the parent, kicking at the parent, or saying, "Go away" or "I don't like you any more." It included all antagonistic or inimical acts directed toward the parent.

Obeys the parent was that behavior of the child in which he conformed to commands, demands, or requests of the parent. The child might immediately conform or he might conform only after extra pressure had been brought to bear. Both immediate and eventual conformity were included in this category.

Resists the parent was defined as any form of behavior which was opposed to immediate conformity with some requirement

made by the parent. Whenever the child did not immediately comply with directions, suggestions, or commands given by the parent, the behavior was classified as "resistant," whether or not the child later complied. Instances of resistance that ended finally in obedience to the parent were classified under both *Obeys the parent*[16] and *Resists the parent.* The child's resistance might take one of several forms. He might actively refuse to obey, as when a parent might say, "Johnnie, you stay in our yard," and the child would immediately run off to the yard next door. Or the child might offer opposition to the parent simply by ignoring the parent's command or request and continuing with his play. Or the child, told to come in out of the front yard, might hang on to the front door when his mother tried to pick him up and bring him in. Resistance in every case consisted of utilizing some technique for defying the demand of the parent.

Seeks independence of the parent was defined as any behavior of the child in which he attempted to care for himself or to manipulate his environment. It included instances in which he was successful in his attempt and also those in which he was not. It was illustrated by such remarks and incidents as "I can feed myself," "I want to fix that," or trying to put on clothing, or to brush hair, and the like.

Teases the parent included behavior by means of which the child seemingly tried to vex or annoy the parent. It included acts of playfulness, nagging, impertinence, and jesting. Such behavior was illustrated by the following:

Cedric hid under the bedclothes when his grandmother attempted to dress him.

Henry held his mother's legs and allowed her to walk only when he moved the legs. He also nagged, "Buy cheese, Mama! Buy cheese, Mama! Give me money; give me money."

Enid taunted, "I'll spit in your eye," and Nancy said, "I'll kick you all around."

[16] See page 45.

CHAPTER V

ANALYSIS OF DATA FROM CONTACTS INITIATED BY THE PARENTS

The categories used as the basis of the analysis of the parent practices have been discussed in a previous section (page 21) and defined on pages 27 to 39. The master tabulation of all the parents and their practices, as shown by these selected categories, is given in Table VI.

Scrutiny of Table VI will show marked variation in the kind of practices employed by the parents and in the use of the practices by individual parents.

In order to study these variations several groupings of the categories were arranged and then classified under labels arbitrarily chosen to explain the variations. The selection of the labels and the allocation of the categories to the various groupings may merit disagreement. The groupings are not absolute, but merely indicate tendencies among the practices. Some of the groupings have elements in common; the investigator has attempted to bring out the distinguishing features.

ANALYSIS OF CATEGORIES OF PARENTAL BEHAVIOR AS POSITIVE, NEGATIVE, AND NEUTRAL

In the first grouping the total list of categories were arranged under three headings—positive, negative, and neutral practices. The nature of the approach to the child was the basis for this classification. Practices such as *Bestowing affection, Praising the child,* and the like, were listed as positive in their approach; whereas such practices as *Blaming, Ignoring,* and *Interfering with the Child* were listed as negative. Some few practices were listed under neutral because they might be positive, negative, or neither in approach. Included under this neutral label was a

TABLE

QUANTITATIVE ANALYSIS OF THE

Parents of Child:	*Grouping of Parent Approaches*	*Bestows Affection*	*Gives Academic Instruction*	*Blames the Child*	*Cautions the Child*	*Dictates to the Child*	*Diverts the Child*	*Hurries the Child*	*Ignores the Child*	*Encourages the Child in Use of Imagination*	*Interferes with the Child*	*Encourages the Child in Acquisition of Language*
Alvin	Dict.	5	6	1	5	8	3	0	3	2	7	0
Angus	Appeas.	9	3	0	1	0	5	0	2	14	5	0
Betsy	Coop.	7	6	0	3	0	6	2	3	0	6	1
Candy	Dict.	8	1	0	1	18	7	10	4	2	23	1
Caroline	Dict.	1	6	3	0	12	3	1	6	3	11	0
Cedric	Appeas.	26	7	0	1	3	5	0	4	6	4	1
Charles	Dict.	2	2	1	3	37	0	2	4	0	28	0
Cornelia	Coop.	7	9	0	1	6	2	0	5	5	2	1
Deborah	Temp.	15	3	1	4	11	1	8	4	0	15	0
Drew	Coop.	3	3	0	1	0	3	0	0	0	10	2
Enid	Temp.	2	7	6	1	17	3	0	3	1	17	1
Henry	Temp.	5	1	1	6	11	3	0	2	0	8	0
Jennifer	Coop.	5	8	1	0	6	0	0	1	6	8	0
Michael	Coop. / Dict.	0	5	3	5	15	0	3	5	3	16	0
Nancy	Coop.	6	5	1	5	7	3	1	2	5	18	0
Peter	Coop.	14	6	0	6	0	0	0	2	4	4	1
Phillip*	Dict.	4	1	6	10	7	0	0	8	0	10	0
Rebecca	Dict.	42	1	3	3	4	0	2	2	0	12	0
Tina	Coop.	1	3	0	9	6	0	1	7	1	15	0
Tommy	Dict.	0	5	9	5	31	2	4	1	0	28	0
Tony	Dict.	0	3	6	5	32	5	0	13	5	20	0
Total		162	91	42	75	231	51	34	81	57	267	8

* In Record II Phillip played ball with his father for 27 consecutive minutes. The entire time could be *Social Companion*. The use of x indicates this fact.

practice such as *Diverting the child,* which might be either positive or negative, depending both upon the individual's approach and upon the particular situation.

When the total list of categories was grouped into practices positive, negative, and neutral in approach to the child, the positive grouping included the following categories:

Gives academic instruction.
Bestows affection.

VI

TOTAL PRACTICES FOR ALL THE PARENTS

Encourages the Child in Motor Learning	*Instructs the Child in Distinctions of Property Rights*	*Provokes the Curiosity of the Child*	*Praises the Child*	*Punishes the Child*	*Offers Reasons to the Child*	*Reassures the Child*	*Helps the Child in Routine Situations*	*Enjoys the Child as a Social Companion*	*Instructs the Child in Acquisition of Social Amenities*	*Talks about the Child in his Presence*	*Uses Threats*	*Total*
1	1	10	0	0	5	0	3	6	0	4	0	70
2	5	13	1	0	6	0	7	4	16	2	0	95
4	2	9	0	2	4	0	6	8	8	1	0	78
9	1	4	0	3	0	0	9	2	0	3	1	107
0	4	5	1	3	2	0	7	3	3	2	3	79
3	1	13	4	0	3	2	6	9	20	2	0	120
1	2	3	0	1	2	0	9	7	4	0	7	115
1	4	5	1	1	11	0	3	11	4	0	1	80
0	1	10	0	0	14	1	6	11	4	0	3	112
2	9	24	1	0	7	4	1	17	0	0	0	87
3	2	14	1	1	6	0	4	2	0	0	7	98
2	2	8	3	0	4	0	8	9	5	1	1	80
0	3	18	1	0	11	1	3	6	4	0	4	86
4	5	6	8	1	11	2	5	3	3	0	2	105
4	8	7	2	2	2	0	0	9	11	2	2	102
9	3	12	1	0	2	2	0	6	9	0	0	81
x	1	x	2	1	1	0	4	4x	3	0	3	65
0	1	2	6	1	6	2	4	4	10	0	9	114
5	1	6	0	2	3	0	11	11	0	1	2	85
0	1	2	0	3	6	0	7	3	10	0	13	130
0	0	4	0	3	2	0	2	4	1	0	3	108
50	57	175	32	24	108	14	105	139	115	18	61	1997

nsidered as *Provoking curiosity, Encouraging the Child in Motor Learning* and *Enjoying the Child as a*

Encourages the child in use of imagination.
Encourages the child in acquisition of language.
Encourages the child in motor learning.
Provokes the curiosity of the child.
Praises the child.
Offers reasons to the child.
Reassures the child.
Enjoys the child as a social companion.

The categories considered negative in approach to the child included the following:

Blames the child.
Dictates to the child.
Hurries the child.
Ignores the child.
Interferes with the child.
Punishes the child.
Uses threats.
Talks about the child in his presence.

The categories considered neutral in approach included the following:

Cautions the child.
Diverts the child.
Instructs the child in distinctions of property rights.
Helps the child in routine situations.
Instructs the child in acquisition of social amenities.

Examination of the categories under this grouping revealed that ten were positive, eight negative, and five neutral. When the practices were totaled under these categories, there was still a preponderance of positive contacts, the total being 835 as against 758 negative and 385 neutral.

Several of the categories classified as neutral might well have been classified as positive, and this would have made the preponderance of positive contacts even greater. It is certain, therefore, that the parents in this study used more positive than negative practices in dealing with their children. All of the parents averaged about the same number of neutral practices.

The preponderance of positive contacts over negative ones was particularly interesting, because an over-all view of the records seemed to give the opposite impression. Consideration of Table VI (p. 48) gives the answer to this incorrect impression. Many of the positive practices were used by only a few of the parents, and an accumulation of such practices was obtained only by the number of varieties presented by each parent. This

mitigated the emphasis usually resulting from weight of numbers.

In contrast, two negative practices, *Interfering with* and *Dictating to the child,* were used by all parents and in larger number than any other practices. This constant repetition emphasized these negative practices and gave an impression of unrelenting and ill-humored interference.

It is questionable whether the child realized that the parent used more positive than negative practices. Was he, for instance, able to balance two contacts encouraging the use of motor skills against one contact of being jerked from his play? Could he balance four "dears," even if uttered in sincere tones, against one "Stop that," uttered in a threatening tone? Could he learn that the parent loved him even though the parent was rude and disagreeable? If he learned this, it seems that he must also have learned to condone and accept such behavior as proper, or else he must have lost respect for the parent even though retaining affection for him.

Did the parent realize what far-reaching effects his habitual use of these practices might have on the child's development?

POSITIVE AND NEGATIVE PRACTICES CONSIDERED AS TECHNIQUES IN CHILD MANAGEMENT

All the parent practices were considered as techniques in child management, and an attempt was made to evaluate their success in achieving the parents' apparent aims.

The success of the practices, as techniques, could not be appraised on an all-or-none basis. The nature of the study prevented positive evaluation of the success of ultimate goals. And the success of many of the immediate goals lay in personal reactions of the child, which at best could only be surmised. It appeared possible, however, in some cases, to make certain specific statements with regard to frequency of success or failure.

When the positive and negative classifications were examined from this point of view, the positive practices appeared to achieve the parents' apparent aim in 94 per cent of the in-

stances, whereas negative practices were successful in only 61 per cent of the instances.

POSITIVE AND NEGATIVE PRACTICES RELATED TO SOCIO-ECONOMIC RATING

Study was made of the positive and negative practices to determine any relationship between this classification and the parents' rating on the Sims socio-economic scale. Such study indicated that the parents who rated high on the scale presented more positive than negative practices, and that the parents who rated low on the scale presented more negative than positive practices.

Drew's home was rated highest (9) on the Sims scale, and his mother presented more positive and fewer negative practices than any other of the parents.

Enid's home was rated lowest (3) on the Sims scale, but her "parents" presented more positive and fewer negative practices than did parents whose homes were scored 4 and 5 on the scale.

The general trend seemed to be for parents whose homes rated low on the Sims scale to present fewer positive than negative practices.

Table VII (p. 53) shows the parent ratings on the Sims scale and the average number of positive, negative, and neutral practices for the groups.

POSITIVE AND NEGATIVE PRACTICES RELATED TO THE CHILD'S SOCIAL, EMOTIONAL, AND INTELLECTUAL DEVELOPMENT

It has already been mentioned that the parent practices showed great variation, and that in order to study this variation, several groupings of the categories were arranged. These groupings were made somewhat arbitrarily and were not considered absolute but merely indicative of certain similarities and differences between categories.

To facilitate the analysis of the categories, the positive and

TABLE VII

AVERAGE NUMBER OF POSITIVE, NEGATIVE, AND NEUTRAL PRACTICES FOR PARENTS GROUPED ACCORDING TO THEIR RATING ON THE SIMS SOCIO-ECONOMIC SCALE

Parents' Score on Sims Scale	*Average Number of Positive Practices*	*Average Number of Negative Practices*	*Average Number of Neutral Practices*
Highest—9 Drew	63	10	14
Very high—8 Betsy, Caroline, Cedric, Cornelia, and Peter	48.4	17.4	21.4
High—7 Alvin, Angus, Jennifer, Michael, and Rebecca	49.6	26	18.4
Medium high—6 Deborah and Henry	43	33	20
Medium—5 Tony, Candy, Nancy, Phillip and Tina	25.4	48.6	19.4
Medium low—4 Charles and Tommy	15.5	85.5	21.5
Low—3 Enid	37	51	10

negative practices were further grouped according to their relation to the child's social, emotional, or intellectual development.

All the parent practices were related consciously or unconsciously in one way or another to the child's development. These practices seemed to be varied teaching devices directed at the different phases of child development. Both positive and negative approaches to the child might be directed toward each phase of development.

Bestowing affection, Reassuring, and the like, were listed as positive practices related to the emotional development of the child, whereas *Blaming the child* and *Threatening the child* were listed as negative practices related to the emotional development of the child.

Enjoying the child as a social companion was listed as a positive practice related to the social development of the child, whereas *Ignoring the child* was listed as a negative practice related to his social development.

Such practices as *Giving academic instruction* were classified as positive practices related to the intellectual development of the child, and such practices as *Dictating to the child* were negative practices related to his intellectual development.

ANALYSIS OF CATEGORIES RELATED TO CHILD'S SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT

Four of the parent categories were classified as relative to the social development of the child. *Offers reasons to the child* and *Enjoys the child as a social companion* were classified as showing a positive approach to social development. *Ignores the child* and *Talks about the child in his presence* were classified as showing a negative approach to social development.

An analysis of these categories considered as a group revealed that the parents in this study employed more positive than negative practices classified as related to the child's social development. All the parents enjoyed their children as social companions, and all but one offered reasons for their behavior. Only nine of the parents talked about the child in his presence, but all but one ignored the child in one situation or another.

Both *Offering reasons* and *Enjoying the child as a social companion* seemed to be advantageous to the child's social development, as these practices utilized accepted motivations and also emphasized the desired behavior. These practices encouraged the child to be a reasonable and independent individual by the utilization of such motivations as affection, expectation, example, and equality.

Talking of the child in his presence seemed to be a practice which called forth in the child that behavior which the parent had discussed. With the exception of those instances in which the parent induced amiability by commenting on such behavior, it seemed that this practice tended only to accentuate the lamented behavior.

Ignoring the child seemed also to be a practice which tended to accentuate undesirable behavior. It was noted that many of the child's appeals, questions, and comments which were ignored were made in either soft or conversational tones of voice. This raised the question of whether children might find it necessary to scream in order to elicit a response. Moreover, the parents in this study ignored good behavior of the child five times more often than they ignored infringements or complaints of the child. If legitimate and desirable claims are ignored by the parent and undesirable behavior commented upon, surely a child who wants attention will resort to undesirable behavior. The analysis of these two categories seemed to indicate that their practice did not help to teach desirable social behavior.

The detailed analysis of these categories is shown below:

Enjoys the child as a social companion. The analysis of the data for this category as defined on page 37 revealed that all the parents in one small way or another enjoyed their child as a social being.

Betsy's mother said, "Well, how was school today?" and Rebecca's father said, "Let's you and I go to the circus."

The total number of such contacts was 139, with an average of 6.6 during the two periods of observation.* This figure may not seem significant in size, but it represents one of the five highest averages for the entire series of categories.

This practice might be considered an unstudied technique of the parent to secure reasonable and pleasant behavior in the child. The parent's own example and expectation provide the highest motivations, and from the records they prove to be entirely successful. Such an approach by the parent called forth similar behavior in the child in all instances.

* See appendix, page 150, for the totals and range of all practices.

Since this technique proved so successful, it raises the question of whether its use should be increased. Would such an increase be desirable? Would it be successful as a technique in handling routine procedures?

Offers reasons to the child. An analysis of the records for this behavior as defined on page 36 revealed that all but one of the parents made use of this practice. Only Candy's mother did not offer reasons or justifications for her actions or desires. As this child was the youngest in the group—seventeen months old—one may question whether parents in general attempt reasoning with children under two years of age.

The parents in this study offered reasons in several different situations. Reasons were given for negations which the parent gave the child. For instance, Deborah's mother said, "You must not go on the roof because it is raining," and Rebecca's mother said, "No, you mustn't have a cracker, because then you won't eat any supper." Seventeen parents, with a total of 38 instances, presented reasons for negations.

Reasons were given for directions which the parent gave the child as when Drew's mother said, "Bring back the truck; your book is in it," or when Tina's mother said, "Be careful of the window; you don't want to fall out." Seventeen of the parents, with a total of 49 instances, offered reasons for the child's following directions.

Parents offered reasons for their own actions. This occurred when Rebecca's mother said, "Let me fix your hat; it looks funny," and Cornelia's mother said, "I can't give you these; they aren't mine." Four parents offered reasons for their actions, with a total of 10 such instances.

Four parents, with a total of 11 instances, gave reasons which were listed under "Miscellaneous" and included such instances as Rebecca's mother saying, "You aren't hot. You have on a cool dress," and Caroline's mother explaining, "They are too big, but I bought them for spring."

There was a total of 108 instances of this behavior, with an average of 5.1 instances during the two observation periods.

This practice, as well as the category of *Enjoys the child as*

a social companion, might be considered a technique to secure reasonable behavior from the child. The parent's own example again provides the highest motivation. Study of the records reveals that the child responded with the desired behavior in 79 per cent of the instances.

Ignores the child. An analysis of the data for this behavior as defined on page 32 showed that all but one of the parents ignored their children at some time or other. They did so in several different situations, as when the child called attention to an object of interest, when he called attention to a creditable achievement, when he asked questions, and when he appealed to the parent or made affectionate advances. The parents also ignored complaints and infringements on the part of the child. They ignored what might be termed legitimate claims (questions, appeals, affectionate advances, etc.) almost five times as often as they ignored infringements and complaints of the child.

Ten parents ignored the child when he called attention to an object of interest. Tina's mother ignored the request, "Look at the man; he has rubber soles." Betsy's mother ignored the statement, "Look. This is Ellen and this is Joe." Enid's brother and sister ignored the discovery, "Look! It's got a pumpkin head." There was a total of 13 such instances.

Ten parents ignored questions of the child, as when Nancy asked, "May I show my dress?" or when Alvin inquired, "Where is the tiger?" There were 18 instances of this behavior.

Nine parents, with a total of 16 instances, ignored appeals of the child, as when Enid asked, "Do you like me?" or when Cornelia said, "Don't tell the strap to spank me, will you?"

An incidental observation on these contacts was that all the appeals were made in gentle voices. It raises a question of whether children may find screaming a necessary accompaniment for the securing of attention.

Four parents, in 5 instances, ignored requests of the child to play with him; for instance, when Jennifer said, "Bend down, Mamma, and see if I can jump," and Tony said, "Come, Mamma; play catch with me."

Four parents, in 11 instances, ignored the child when he

called attention to a creditable achievement. Tommy's mother heckled him to "Eat, eat," but when he cleaned his plate and said, "Look," she ignored him. Michael's father ignored him when he said, "Look at the color," of a nice painting he had made.

Two parents, with a total of 4 instances, ignored affectionate advances from the child. Tony's mother and Caroline's mother both ignored hugs from their children and also ignored them when they said, "I love Mummy."

Nine parents, with a total of 14 instances, ignored infringements and complaints of the child, as when Tina pounded on the window for attention and when Alvin hit his father on the head. Cedric's grandmother ignored his complaint of "I don't like this. Bah!" and Phillip's mother ignored his complaint, "I can't have anything to play with."

Ignoring the child seemed an indirect attempt by the parent to attain an immediate goal, i. e., the cessation of an activity of the child. From this point of view this technique was successful in 87 per cent of the instances. However, 75 per cent involved situations in which the parent ignored questions, appeals, or affectionate overtures which seemed legitimate advances of the child. From this point of view the child did not repeat a legitimate advance in 69 per cent of the instances. This may be a hint to the adolescent's mother who complains that her child does not confide in her. Confidence is not encouraged when spontaneous advances are met by silence.

This technique was unsuccessful (i. e., the child repeated his act) in 6.5 per cent of the instances for both legitimate and illegitimate claims of the child.

There was a total of 81 instances of this behavior, with an average of 3.8 instances during the two observation periods.

Talks about the child in his presence. An analysis of the data for this behavior as defined on page 38 revealed that parents talked of the children in 5 different respects: tricks used in the management of the child, desirable behavior and undesirable behavior of the child, illnesses, and other worries concerning the child. Nine parents employed this practice in 18 instances.

Two parents, with a total of 2 instances, talked of their tricks in management. Nancy's father said, "We put a little water in her cocktail glass, and God, she thinks it's wonderful." Candy's mother said, "Don't go into the hall; the man will get you," and then she said to the investigator, "She's caught on to that one, too."

Only one parent, Nancy's father, talked of undesirable behavior. He said, "She's not content until she has everything useless."

Three parents, in 3 instances, talked of desirable qualities about the child. Cedric's grandmother said, "He is such a sweet baby, and so good," and Candy's mother said, "Isn't she wonderful?"

Four parents in 5 instances talked of illness of the child in his presence. Caroline's mother said, "I don't know what is the matter with her. She always seems to be tired." Angus' mother said, "I don't know what to do when he is sick; he is so hard to keep in bed." Henry's mother said, "He has such bad colds and they hang on so long," and Tina's mother made similar remarks.

Four parents in 7 instances recounted worries concerning the child. Alvin's father said, "It is so hard with his mother working. It makes so many problems. I wish the school would help more." Caroline's mother worried about the problem of jealousy and wished she could talk to the school. Candy's mother worried because the father failed to agree about methods of management; and Cedric's grandmother worried because of caring for the boy while his mother worked.

Five of the children responded noticeably to the parents' talking about them in their presence. Caroline went into the bedroom and lay down on the bed after her mother referred to her fatigue. In dulcet tones Cedric called, "Granny, dear," after his grandmother talked of his sweetness.

Nancy repeatedly demanded her "cocktail" after her father told of their "trick," and Henry coughed after his mother talked of his cold. Thus, in about one-third of the cases the child showed immediate reaction to the parents' "talking about

him in his presence." It is highly probable that the other children made mental notes to be used later on. When Cedric's grandmother talked of him in his presence, she gained, at least momentarily, a sweeter child, but the other parents only called forth the deplored behavior. From the incidents in this study, it seems as though talking of a child in his presence does not facilitate desired behavior.

ANALYSIS OF CATEGORIES RELATED TO CHILD'S EMOTIONAL DEVELOPMENT

The three categories considered positive in approach and classified as related to the emotional development of the child were *Reassures the child, Bestows affection upon the child,* and *Praises the child.* The three categories considered negative in approach and classified as related to the emotional development of the child were *Blames the child, Punishes the child* and *Uses threats.*

Analysis of these categories grouped together revealed that the parents in this study used almost twice as many positive practices relative to the emotional development of the child as they did opposing practices. The category which gave the preponderant weight to this positive grouping was that of *Bestows affection upon the child.*

DETAILED ANALYSIS OF THESE SIX CATEGORIES

Bestows affection upon the child. An analysis of the data for this behavior, as defined on page 28, revealed that parents showed affection by both verbal and physical contacts, with 136 instances of verbal and 26 instances of physical affection. The total number of affectionate contacts was 162, with 7.7 the average number of such contacts during the two observations.

Two "parents" (Rebecca's mother and Cedric's grandmother) presented unusually large numbers of affectionate contacts. Three parents (the mothers of Caroline, Tony, and Tommy) showed no overt affection for their children.

These five cases offered some interesting contrasts. Rebecca's mother held the highest score of 42 instances of bestowing affection. This mother worked outside the home and the child was cared for by a maid who proved both incompetent and cruel. Except for the high score on the number of instances of bestowing affection, the mother appeared dictatorial in her relationship with the child. It seems possible that this excessive overt affection may have been an attempt of the mother to compensate for possible feelings of guilt because she had failed to provide proper care for the child. At any rate, one-fourth of the total number of affectionate contacts are attributed to this mother.

Cedric's grandmother presented 26 instances of overt affection. She appeared conciliatory in her relationship with the child and also tended to overprotect and overstimulate him, as indicated by the following remarks: "See! Granny is holding you. You can't fall. Granny will hold you so tight you could never fall"; "Let's go look-see the big moon, shining to light the old earth while the children are asleep." The attitude is substantiated by the following incident in which the grandmother asked, "What do you want for supper—a nice baked potato?" and Cedric answered, "No, a chocolate eclair." Granny replied, "No, no—a nice baked potato, darling"; and when Cedric said, "No, I don't like it," she said, "You will love it for Granny." Such incidents as these may give part of the explanation for the grandmother's high score on affectionate contacts as compared with the scores of other parents in the study.

The explanation for the three parents who showed no overt affection seemed to lie in the attitude they held toward their children. Such attitudes were illustrated by the following incidents:

Tony immediately complied with a peremptory command from his mother, yet found his request, "See my garage" answered by, "Now be quiet. What is the matter with you? Go and do what you were doing before. Build a house." When Tony stood beside the stove, his mother said, "Get away; it's too hot. I'll drop it for spite and burn you. Move away."

Characteristic of Caroline's mother was her reply when Caroline asked for a cover for her doll bed. The mother said, "Well, what do you say?—Please? And listen! I'm not going to wash them—only one."

A characteristic excerpt from Tommy's record was made when the mother pulled him over and said, "Sonny, come on and wash your hands." When he cried as the mother washed him, she said, "What is the matter with you? See what a bad boy you are. Other children don't do that, you fresh thing." The child answered, "You fresh thing," and the mother slapped his face.

Such parent behavior indicates an attitude which seems to exclude affectionate gestures and quite probably accounts for the complete lack of loving practices in the records of these parents.

The children of these three parents presented unusual instances of affectionate advances toward their parents.[1] Tony and Caroline held first and third "highs" in the number of instances of bestowing affection, and Tommy showed no such instances. It seems possible that the first two of these children felt an insecurity which they were striving to allay by increasing affectionate contacts with the parent. Tony indicated some insecurity when he said, "Hold my hand," and again, when his mother picked up her purse, he said quickly, "Where are you going, Mamma?"

Caroline showed possible insecurity when she repeated three times, "You don't hurt me, Mamma," when her mother cut her nails, and when she said, "I don't cry," or "Daddy says I'm a good girl," or, again, possibly, when she laughed happily because her mother asked her to help make beds.

Tommy's marked bravado ("You fresh thing," "I'll kick you," etc.) may likewise have been caused by insecurity.

The possibility that high scores on affectionate advances toward the parent may indicate insecurity is further borne out by the fact that Drew presented the second largest number of such practices. Drew's mother made only 3 affectionate ad-

[1] See analysis of *Displays affection for the parent,* page 109.

vances to him as against 16 he made toward her. Possible insecurity may have been indicated when Drew was overly solicitious about an unknown child who got hurt, or when he clung to his mother and cried because he was afraid of the ants on the ground.

Although these indications of insecurity are inconclusive, the investigator felt that all four of these children were less secure than the other children in the group. These cases are not clear-cut and are too few for definite conclusions, but it was evident that the children who received the least affectionate advances from their parents were the ones who offered their parents the most affectionate advances. This would seem to indicate a need on the part of the children for more affection, a condition which seems even more probable when one realizes that in this study parents, as a group, showed more affectionate contacts to the child than the child showed toward the parent.

The average number of affectionate contacts per parent was 7.7 during the two periods of observation. If these figures seem low, it does not mean that these parents[2] did not convey a feeling of love for their children; but it does mean that parents may not utilize some of the more successful motivations in child management.

Exclude hugging, kissing, and terms of endearment as practices of personal preference, and parents could still increase their use of affectionate gestures.

The smile is an affectionate gesture which could serve as added motivation in many instances. Holding the hand might be a means of propelling the dilatory child. These two friendly gestures might increase the child's acquiescence and would probably add to his feeling of being beloved, yet these devices were used rarely in this study. There were only 11 instances of smiling, and these were in social rather than managerial situations. Only one parent made use of holding the hand to propel the child, and no parent made use of the laugh. One has only to observe the lengths to which a child will go in attempting to

[2] The investigator felt that all the parents, except Caroline's mother, experienced deep affection for their children. Caroline's mother, however, seemed to have so completely rejected the child that no affection was apparent.

reproduce a situation which caused a laugh to realize how much it means to him. Laughing *with* a child is not only a glorious experience, but it may serve many times in redirecting the child's activities. Perhaps more than any other emotional expression it "unites" the participants. Yet no parent in this study laughed with his child!

Praises the child. The analysis of this category as defined on page 35, revealed that twelve parents praised their children in four different situations. For instance, praising the child included such items as Rebecca's mother saying, "She's the sweetest girl," or Phillip's mother saying, "That's a good boy," or Cornelia's mother saying, "You are such a help to me." Altogether, ten parents praised their children in 15 instances.

Praising the deed occurred in such instances as Cedric's grandmother saying, "That was sweet," when Cedric gave a penny to another child; or Peter's mother saying, "That's a good job," when he successfully put on his sock. Four parents praised the deed in a total of 11 instances.

Praising the intention accounted for 2 instances, both occurring when Michael's mother said, "That's a good idea" at his suggestions of help.

Praising the achievement accounted for 4 instances. Angus' mother said, "Oh, you can swim beautifully!" Caroline's mother said, "You certainly do a good job on lacing shoes." Drew's mother said, "Oh, that's a nice mud pie," and Nancy's father said, "That's a pretty picture."

A total of 32 instances of praising gave an average of 1.5 instances during the two periods of observation.

Chase [7], Hurlock [12], and other psychologists have indicated in research studies that praising is an effective motivation for learning. Parents might well use this practice as a direct technique for attaining either immediate or eventual goals. More than half the instances in this study represented such situations, and in these, the parent found the practice successful in 70 per cent of the cases.

Reassures the child. Analysis of the data for this behavior as defined on page 36 revealed that this behavior presented the

smallest number (14) of positive instances directed at the child's emotional development.

Reassurances were given in four different situations. Two instances occurred when the child showed concern for property. Peter's mother reassured him when he expressed concern about a pinwheel, saying, "No, it won't fall," and again during the same episode when she said, "No, it is all right."

Two parents in a total of 3 instances reassured the child concerning his ability. Deborah's mother said, "No, you won't spill it," and Michael's mother twice assured him of his ability to pour milk.

Two parents in a total of 3 instances reassured the child as to personal safety. Twice Cedric's grandmother said she would never let him fall: "I will hold you so tight you could never fall," and once Rebecca's mother said, "Wait. I'll move it," when Rebecca thought a bucket of water would fall on her.

Three parents in a total of 6 instances reassured the child when he appeared frightened. Drew's mother said, "I'm right here" when he ran toward her saying, "Mamma, Mamma." Again, when he cried because there were ants, she said, "We'll go over here where there aren't so many."

Rebecca's mother reassured her when the child feared that the colored woman who mistreated her would return. The mother said, "No, honey, not a scare one, nor a black one; just a lovely one."

It is interesting to note that Caroline's mother failed to give reassurance when the child cried and ran from the vacuum cleaner. This is the only instance of crying[3] from apparent fear, and the child received no reassurance from the parent.

This practice might be considered a direct technique for achieving an immediate goal; as such, it was successful in 65 per cent of the instances. In the remaining instances success (child being reassured) was achieved by a repetition of assurance.

Only seven of the parents presented instances of this behavior in a total of 14 incidents.

There was indication that the parents who presented the

[3] See analysis of *Cries,* page 114.

largest number of reassuring contacts presented the smallest number of opposing or threatening contacts. (The correlation was $-.043 \pm .22$.)

Blames the child. The analysis of this category as defined on page 29 revealed that thirteen of the twenty-one parents blamed or found fault with their children. They were blamed for being "unpleasant," as when Caroline's mother said, "You are awfully mean," or "You are like a dog, not like a little girl," or "Was that nice?" Seven parents blamed their children for "unpleasantness" in a total of 14 instances.

Parents blamed their children for being "bad," as when Tommy's mother said, "You are bad," or when Tony's mother said, "Bad boy." Six parents used this form of blaming with a total of 13 practices.

Invidious comparisons and social ostracisms were also included as forms of blaming as when Tommy's mother said, "Nobody wants you" or "She eats cleaner than you," or when Nancy's father said, "I don't like girls like you." Five parents had contacts of this kind in a total of 15 instances.

The emphasis in this analysis might lie in the fact that, excluding the eight parents who did not use this practice, there is, roughly, in each two and one-half hours of parent-child contact, an average of 3.2 instances of unmitigated faultfinding or blaming. Since this practice, by definition, implied that the child was willfully blameworthy and subject to no hope for improvement, it seems that its use may be particularly undesirable for the child's emotional development.

In only one case did use of this practice seem to produce desirable behavior in the child. Phillip had been isolated for misbehavior; when he returned, uninvited, his mother said, "You are a bad boy." Phillip said, "I'll go back again," and did so. In all other instances the use of denunciations caused one of two observable effects: either the child stood still, saying nothing, or he retaliated in kind. Caroline stood still, saying nothing, when her mother said, "You are like a dog, not like a little girl." When Phillip's mother said, "You fresh thing," he answered with the same remark.

These responses do not seem successful in producing desired behavior, nor do they indicate desirable emotional reactions.

As a technique for achieving the immediate goal of desirable behavior, blaming seems successful in only 2 per cent of the instances. In 17 per cent it produced undesirable behavior, and in 81 per cent it produced the unnatural response of cessation of activity. As a technique in child management it therefore seems undesirable.

Punishes the child. An analysis of the data for this behavior as defined on page 36 showed that the number of parents who resorted to punishment was greater than the number of parents who did not. There were more instances of physical punishment than of any other kind.

Two parents, Candy's and Caroline's, spanked their children. Candy's mother spanked her when she would not remain on the potty seat. Caroline's mother spanked her in the following episode:

Caroline and David, her younger brother, were fussing. David cried when Caroline bit his hand. The mother entered. She said, "What's the matter? You mustn't wear that coat in the house." She looked at David's hand and said, "Did Caroline do that? You are going to get a spanking." Caroline cried, "No." Mother: "Yes. I won't listen to you." (Spanks her.) "What did Daddy tell you?" Caroline: "I'm sorry." Mother: "You're always sorry." Caroline hugged her mother. The mother ignored her and left the room.

There were 9 instances of slapping. Tony's mother slapped him when he shouted at the canary. Tommy's mother slapped him when he got on the bed, when he made faces at his mother in retaliation, and when he cried at having his face washed. Caroline's mother slapped her when she hit her mother, and again when she pushed her brother. Candy's mother slapped her when she would not stand still for dressing. Nancy's mother slapped her hand when she ignored admonitions to leave the sink.

There were 3 contacts of physical punishment other than spanking or slapping. Tony's mother held his feet when he put

them on her dress and pushed him when he would not leave the kitchen. Enid's brother lifted her from the table when she refused to get down.

There were 9 contacts of depriving the child of an object. Candy's mother removed her locket when she chewed it. Betsy's mother twice put away a book when the child let it fall on the floor, etc. When Candy cried, her mother deprived her of affection. "I don't like you any more."

One parent, Phillip's mother, used isolation as a punishment. When this practice was considered a technique for achieving desirable behavior in the child, it was found to be successful 82 per cent of the time.

Deprivation and isolation seemed effective techniques, and in general physical punishment also put a stop to undesired behavior. In most instances, however, physical punishment seemed the result of the parent's ill-humor rather than a desire on his part for training the child. From this point of view physical punishment might be considered as setting an undesirable example for the child's emotional development.

Uses threats. The analysis of the data for this category as defined on page 38 showed that threats were used in a variety of situations. The most common threat was of spanking or slapping, nine parents using this threat in a total of 19 instances.

Three mothers threatened to have the father chastise the child. For instance, Charles' mother said, "When Papa comes, the strap!" and Tommy's mother said, "I'll make Papa hit you tonight." Threat of the father was employed 4 times.

Three parents threatened the child with situations producing fear; for instance, Candy's mother said, "I'll make the man come and take you away," and Rebecca's mother said, "I'll go out and leave you alone." Another time she said, "The colored woman will come tomorrow." There were 7 instances of this kind.

Soap in the mouth and the police were used as threats to Caroline and Enid.

Tina's and Rebecca's mothers threatened loss of affection; for instance, Rebecca's mother said,"I won't love you any more," and Tina's mother said, "I won't like you if you do that."

Four parents, those of Phillip, Nancy, Enid, and Rebecca, threatened the child with isolation. For instance, Phillip's mother said, "I'll make you go into the room," and then she, alone of all the parents, carried out her threat. These 4 parents threatened the child with isolation in a total of 5 incidents.

Twelve parents threatened the child with either social deprivation, as when Tommy's mother said, "The nurse won't take you on the boat ride," or material deprivation, as when Caroline's mother said, "If you act that way, you can't have any balloon." Eighteen of the threatening instances came under this classification.

Four instances were classified as "miscellaneous." These included instances such as Tommy's mother saying, "Sonny—" with unspecified threat in the voice, or Enid's brother saying, "I'll make the dog bite you." This latter instance occurred when Enid screamed because her brother threatened to slap her in the face.

There was a total of 61 instances of threatening during the two series of observations. When this practice was considered as a technique for stopping undesirable behavior in the child, it was found to be successful 50 per cent of the time. Since the practice probably has an undesirable effect upon the child's emotional development, and since it is successful only half the time, parents might well substitute a more successful and desirable technique in child management.

ANALYSIS OF CATEGORIES RELATED TO INTELLECTUAL DEVELOPMENT OF CHILD

Five categories, *Gives academic instruction, Encourages the child in acquisition of language, Encourages the child in motor learning, Encourages the child in use of imagination,* and *Provokes the curiosity of the child* were considered positive in approach to the child and were classified as related to his intellectual development.

Three categories, *Hurries the child, Interferes with the child,* and *Dictates to the child,* were considered negative in approach

to the child and were classified as related to his intellectual development. Analysis of these categories, considered as a group, revealed that the parents in this study used almost twice as many negative as positive practices related to intellectual development. This was true even though there were five categories considered positive and only three considered negative. (This was accounted for by the fact that the two categories of *Interferes with the child,* and *Dictates to the child* exceed all other categories in the total number of instances.)

The positive practices directed at the child's intellectual development seemed successful techniques for calling forth desirable behavior in the child. When these practices were used, the child presented reasonable, focused, and alert behavior. It seemed that he was mentally stimulated and quite probably experienced advantageous learning.

Aside from the furthering of mental development, these practices seem effective in child management, since a child who has his attention directed to an interesting environment is less likely to be troublesome than a child who is left to his own devices.

The negative categories directed at the child's intellectual development, though apparently quite successful in achieving the parent's immediate behest, may be contributory to later parent problems.

Hurrying the child, for instance, occurred during routine situations in 80 per cent of the instances. This may account for part of the resistance in routine situations as found in studies such as those by Caille [6] and Reynolds [22]. Moreover, learning the necessary skills for caring for oneself requires time; if the child is constantly hurried, he may learn more slowly and achieve less independence in routine matters.

Interfering with the child also seemed to decrease his attempts at independence. Many times the parent interfered physically without allowing time for the child to comply with the initial verbal interference. Such practice thwarts both compliance and independence in the child.

Dictating to the child teaches unthinking obedience to authority as the only acceptable response. Such continual teaching

prevents the child from learning to respond to reasonable demands.

Use of all these practices, even when achieving the parent's immediate goal, may be fostering later problems. They are surely failing in teaching the child intellectual independence.

ANALYSIS OF CATEGORIES

Gives academic instruction. An analysis of the data for this behavior as defined on page 27 revealed that all the parents made use of this practice. Cornelia's mother had 9 such instances, the high record for the group, and four parents had only 1 such instance each. The average number per parent was 4.4 during the two periods of observation.

Academic instruction was given in a variety of situations. Thirteen parents presented new information, as when Jennifer's mother said, "That is an Indian." There was a total of 42 such instances.

Twelve parents corrected wrong information, as when Cornelia's mother said, "No, she comes from Germany," in answer to Cornelia's statement, "Elsie comes from England." These twelve parents had a total of 23 such instances.

Seven parents taught colors, as when Caroline's mother held up successive balloons asking, "What color is this one?" The total number of color-teaching instances was 11.

Seven parents taught numbers, as when Charles' father said, "Count the cards like this, 1—2—3. Say it after me." There was a total of 8 instances of teaching the child to count.

Enid's brother taught spelling: "Spell cat, Enid, C-A-T."

Tommy's father taught prayers. This was, incidentally, the only reference to religion found in the complete series of observations.

The total number of instances giving academic instruction was 91. This practice may be considered a desirable technique in child training. Its observable effect is an interested, attentive child; its probable effect is the absorption by the child of much information.

It would be interesting if a further longitudinal study could throw light on the amount of retention of such informal instruction.

Provokes the curiosity of the child. An analysis of the data for this behavior as defined on page 35 revealed that all parents attempted to arouse their children's curiosity. Drew's mother had the largest number of such contacts, with 24. Rebecca's and Tommy's mothers had the smallest number, with 2 each.

Analysis of these contacts permitted classification under various headings, as, for instance, telling stories. This was exemplified when Cedric said, "How do you make a snow man?" and his grandmother replied, "It's a long story. You roll it along and roll it along, and then put flat pieces for ears and pudgy pieces for a nose and branches off a tree and bits of black stones for arms and eyes, and then he is a snow man."

Five parents provoked curiosity by telling stories; there were 9 such instances.

A second classification was playing games. This was illustrated by Angus' mother when she sang a finger game song, "We do our hands like this." Eight parents "played games" with their children, with a total of 13 such contacts.

Reading to the child was a third classification of provoking curiosity. Six parents read to their children; there were 8 such instances.

Calling the child's attention to objects of interest was another classification for provoking curiosity. This was illustrated when Cornelia's mother said, "See, it comes down in a triangle and grows straight into the gums," in answer to Cornelia's question about teeth. Again, Drew's mother provoked curiosity by calling attention when she said, "See the merry-go-round." Fifteen of the parents called attention to an object of interest, with a total of 48 such practices.

Sixteen parents, with a total of 67 contacts, provoked curiosity by asking provocative questions. Betsy's mother asked, "How does the kitty-cat go?" Drew's mother asked, "Isn't that an interesting handcar?"

Suggesting an informative pursuit was a practice used by

seven parents in a total of 19 contacts. Deborah's mother used it when she said, "Go, sister, read the book." Nancy's mother used it when she said, "You can sing that in Hungarian."

There were other items of provoking curiosity listed under "Miscellaneous." Angus' mother made such a contact when she said, "I'll show you how to use my stamper." Four parents made contacts such as these in a total of 11 instances.

This practice, according to the evidence, might be considered a successful technique for child training, since it apparently produced an attentive, focused child. It is also probable that it achieved its purpose of stimulating mental development.

Encourages the child in use of imagination. Analysis of the data for this category, as defined on page 32, revealed that thirteen of the parents made use of this practice, with a range per parent from 1 to 14 such instances. In the analysis were found two types of imaginative contact: those in which the parent initiated an "imaginative" play, and those in which the parent entered into "imaginative" play initiated by the child.

There were 30 instances of "imaginative" contact in which the parent suggested or initiated the "imagination." For instance, Jennifer rushed to her mother and hugged her around the legs. Her mother suggested, "Are you a bear?" Michael's mother suggested to him, "See the stems. They are straws to give the plant a drink." Nancy's mother suggested to her, "I hear your baby crying."

The remaining 28 "imaginative" contacts were those in which the child initiated the "imagination" and the parent joined in. For instance, Michael said, "Let's pretend my jumping rope is a snake," and his mother acquiesced by saying, "All right." Julie said, "I make coffee," and her mother said, "Yes, and pudding too." Nancy said, "My baby is sick," and her mother asked, "How did your baby get sick?"

Eight parents, those of Henry, Rebecca, Tommy, Phillip, Drew, Charles, Caroline, and Deborah, had no instances of "imaginative" contact. Angus' mother presented one-fourth of the total number of such contacts.

All of this "imagination" belonged to the everyday variety

of "make believe." There were no instances of animism, eidetic imagery, imaginary companions, or flights of fancy involving sustained activity of the child. The children either did not present any of these forms of imagination, or they presented them rarely and not during the time of observation.

This practice, as a technique, seemed to produce desirable behavior in the child. He appeared socially reasonable and intellectually interested.

Encourages the child in acquisition of language. An analysis of the data for this category as defined on page 34 revealed that only about one-third of the parents in this study gave direct aid in the acquisition of language. These parents offered assistance in pronunciation, supplying a better or a correct word, and explaining the meaning of a word.

Drew's mother said, "Brass pole" carefully and distinctly when he had trouble pronouncing it; Peter's father said, "Po-ta-to, not Pa-ta-to." Candy's mother supplied a word for the child to use when she said, "Say 'O.K.,' Candy, say 'O.K.' " She was the only parent who directly told the child a word to use. Caroline's mother said, "Not two foots, two feet," and Enid's sister said, "Not a peach, a piece (of puzzle)." Cedric's grandmother said, "Don't say 'I don't want it'; say, 'I don't care for it'."

Cornelia's mother explained the meaning of a new word when she said, " 'Intended' means 'meant for'."

It is interesting to note that Caroline's mother failed to correct two misunderstood words. In the first instance Caroline said of the tool kit on her tricycle, "What is this?"

Mother: "That's for tools."
Caroline: "For rings?" (Jewelry)
Mother: "No, for tools to fix the tricycle. Only boys fix tricycles."

In the second instance the mother said, "When you are bigger you will be in Delores' class."

Caroline: "Will there be flowers there? Can I pick the flowers, Mummy?"
Mother: "There aren't flowers there. It isn't a garden."
Caroline: "A kindergarten. Buy me some flowers, Mummy."
Mother: "All right."

It is also interesting to speculate why so few parents had "language" contacts. Is "language" taught primarily before the child is two years old? Is it then one finds instances of teaching this necessary skill? Or is the language ability of the preschool child so advanced that further direct teaching is necessary only occasionally?

Certainly these children seemed more than competent at expression and understanding, which would bear out evidence from other studies[4] that the language ability of the preschool child is extremely advanced and probably does not need direct teaching.

Encourages the child in motor learning. The analysis of the data for this behavior as defined on page 34 revealed that fourteen parents in this study encouraged the child in motor learning and in a variety of different ways.

Cornelia's mother "verbally encouraged" when she said, "Put on the cups and saucers." Nine parents in a total of 15 instances "verbally encouraged" their children in the acquisition of a motor skill.

Alvin's father "instructed" when he said, "Spread out the wash cloth so you can wash." Seven parents presented a total of 15 incidents of "instructing."

Charles' father "physically aided" when he held Charles' hand to aid in a writing situation. Three parents presented 3 incidents of this kind.

Phillip's father "demonstrated" when he threw a baseball correctly. There were 8 incidents of this kind, provided by five parents.

Betsy's mother encouraged motor learning when she waited while Betsy put on her own pants. Three parents in 6 instances waited for the child to perform a motor skill.

An interesting period of observation occurred when Phillip's father, during the second visit, spent 27 consecutive minutes in playing baseball with the boy. This entire visit was devoted to the acquisition of a motor skill. Phillip's father "verbally en-

[4] See size of vocabulary in Smith [25] and development in McCarthy [21] and Wellman [29].

couraged" the learning of baseball technique, as well as using "instructing" and "demonstrating" as aids in teaching this motor skill.

Consideration of the average number of instances (3.6) of encouraging a motor skill, as opposed to the 27 minutes spent by Phillip's father in baseball instruction, may give a clue to the attitude of parents in general to the acquisition of motor skills. Long periods of concentrated effort instead of incidental teaching may be the rule. It certainly seemed to be so with the parents in this study. Ball-playing, skating, sewing, dancing, and similar activities are given much encouragement in lump sums, but many opportunities for incidental motor learning may well be overlooked.

Several studies have emphasized the psychological effects of motor skills. Jersild and Holmes [15] emphasize the importance of motor skill in dealing with fear. Jack [13] emphasizes the importance of motor skill in dealing with self-confidence. McGraw [20] emphasizes the relationship of motor skill to total personality development. In view of these and other studies it seems safe to suggest that parents could increase the number of their practices relative to encouraging motor skills and thereby aid their children in psychological as well as physical development.

This study indicates that the parents with the largest number of instances devoted to motor learning had the smallest number devoted to routine care. It seems possible that increased motor dexterity may have made the child more independent and also more adept at handling his clothing and in eating.

This study also indicates that those parents who waited for their children to perform a motor skill had the smallest number of instances of hurrying their children in routine activities. Since waiting for the child to perform a motor skill is essential to its learning, it seems that if parents waited for the child to perform the task instead of hurrying him, they would in the end save time on routine activities.

One other point for parents to remember in teaching motor skills is the effectiveness of "demonstration." In this study there were twice as many instances of "verbal instruction" as of

"demonstration"; yet Goodenough and Brian [10] in their ring-toss game study found teaching appreciably more efficacious when verbal instruction was accompanied by demonstration.

The nature of learning makes it difficult to evaluate the practice of teaching motor skills as a technique, but from the observable evidence success seems to be secured in large measure.

Hurries the child. The analysis of the data for this category as defined on page 32 revealed that ten parents hurried their children. Eight did so in routine situations, with a total of 26 instances.

Eight instances were listed under "Miscellaneous," and included incidents involving non-routine activities. Such instances occurred when Rebecca wanted to pass her mother, who was scrubbing, and the mother said, "Well, hurry up," or when Charles' mother said, "Open the window. Hurry up."

All the hurrying instances occurred in situations where the child was urged to activity desired by the parent. In many ways hurrying might constitute a further *Dictates to the child,* but it is analyzed separately because of its importance in child training.

The age of the child does not seem to be significantly related to the practice of hurrying. The parent employing the practice most often had the youngest child, but the next most frequent use of the practice was made by two parents whose children were the oldest.

Eighty per cent of the instances of hurrying occurred in routine situations, and may indicate why such studies as Cailles' [6] and Reynolds' [22] find the most resistance in routine matters. Such remarks as "Hurry, now; you said you had to go," and "Eat quick; Mother's in a hurry," may well cause resistance and tension in the child.

These instances also may indicate that "waiting" for a child to perform a motor task may be one of the most necessary techniques for both motor development and routine accomplishment. It seems certain that further study should be made of routine practices. Why do parents have to hasten a child for most routine activities? Is the child too bored to cooperate?

Has he never learned to cooperate promptly? Does the mother give him enough responsibility? Is too much emphasis put on routine activities? Why do parents have to stand over and urge the child to accomplish those activities which Curti [8] says should have become conditioned reflexes during the first two years of life?

It is difficult to evaluate this practice as a technique because, in most instances, the child seemed to have been making his best effort. It seems probable that in eating and toileting situations hurrying might serve to retard the child's progress, since the peremptoriness of the parent probably induced tension in the child.

In other situations, particularly where the child was making his best effort, hurrying might readily produce resistance, resulting in defeat of the parent's goal.

In the majority of the instances in the study, the child made no overt response to being hurried; but since he was apparently already making his best effort the only alternative would have been cessation of activity, which did not occur. There were, however, 7 instances, or 20 per cent of the total times, in which the child apparently ignored the admonition. From this finding it may be said that hurrying was unsuccessful 20 per cent of the time.

Dictates to the child. The analysis of the data for instances of this behavior as defined on page 30 revealed that all but four parents dictated to their children, as shown by a total of 231 instances of this behavior during the two periods of observation. This practice, as a technique for achieving the parent's apparent aim, appeared to be successful in 58 per cent of the instances; that is, in these instances the child responded to the parent's commands or demands. Many of the demands were made so rapidly that the child had no time to respond to the initial ones before the next one had been given. This speed reduced the effectiveness of this practice both in its numerical interpretation and in the child's response to it.

Interferes with the child. An analysis of the data for this category as defined on page 33 revealed that all the parents

interfered with their children. There were 267 such instances, the largest number found in the analysis of any of the categories.

The contacts of interfering were classified under six headings. One was verbal interference by the use of "don't." Tommy's mother said, "Don't put that in your face." Alvin's father said, "Don't twist it 'round and 'round."

Fourteen parents used "don't" as a deterrent, with a total of 45 such practices. This frequency raises the old question of the advisability of using "don't" as a teaching device. If the child receives mental images from the spoken words, it seems more advantageous to give a positive picture of the desired behavior rather than merely to say "don't." On the other hand, the complete removal of this deterrent does not seem immediately feasible.

Eight parents interfered with the child by the use of the verbal interference, "Stop that!" There was a total of 18 such instances. Charles' mother said, "Stop that!" when he ran around the room. Candy's mother said, "Stop that!" when Candy chewed a charm around her neck.

A third category of verbal interference was by the use of "No more." For example, Enid's brother said, "No, no more ice cream," and Rebecca's mother said, "No, no more melon." Four parents deterred with "No more" in a total of 8 instances.

Other verbal interference was listed under "Miscellaneous" and included such remarks as Nancy's mother's saying: "Put that cake away," and Rebecca's mother's saying, "Not so much, darling," when the child gulped her milk. This classification included all the parents, with a total of 130 such contacts.

Physical interference was used by eighteen of the parents, with a total of 59 such practices. For example, Tony's mother took his finger from his mouth, and Caroline's mother removed her coat, saying, "You mustn't wear your coat in the house."

One further "interference" occurred when the parent behaved in a manner contrary to the child's desires. For instance, Tina's mother closed the window when Tina wanted it open. Five parents interfered in this way, with a total of 7 such instances.

Physical interference presented certain qualitative interpretations. For instance, when Tina's mother said, "Now we will go to the park" and took her by the hand, she was "going part way with the child," and the practice became a positive instead of a negative technique. Such a technique created an atmosphere of joint compliance with the given command, and differed greatly from the dictatorial method, which consisted of pulling and pushing. This positive type of physical interference accounted for one-seventh of the instances of physical interference.

A further distinction in the use of physical interference was shown by some parents who interfered verbally and then waited for the child to stop his activity by himself, while other parents followed verbal interference immediately with physical interference. Such parental conduct left the child no opportunity to comply with the verbal command alone, and its effect might even have been to teach the child to expect physical interference to prove that the command was meant. Passive resistance might have been encouraged by the child's waiting to see whether the verbal command would be followed by physical interference.

By its definition (page 33), this practice was considered 100 per cent successful in achieving the parent's immediate aim.

ANALYSIS OF CATEGORIES AS RELATED TO SOCIAL MORES

The two categories of *Encouraging the child in acquisition of social amenities* and *Instructing the child in distinctions of property rights* were designated as being related to our social mores, in part because behavior such as they describe has been frequently discussed in studies of other peoples. The Orientals' characteristic use of "please" and "thank you" is often pointed out just as the emphasis upon the acquisition and care of possessions is frequently considered characteristic of Western society.

These two categories were also so designated because it seemed evident that practice of the two behaviors is necessary

for smooth social functioning. They seem to be well directed at achieving their apparent aims, and utilize the child's desire for conformity and approbation as effective motivations.

ANALYSIS OF CATEGORIES

Encourages the child in acquisition of social amenities. The analysis of the data for this category as defined on page 38 revealed that parents instructed their children in the acquisition of social amenities in a variety of situations. Eleven parents encouraged the child in the use of "Thank you." When Peter gave candy to his mother, she said, "Thank you," and when Angus' mother gave him a penny, she asked, "Now, what do you say?" There were 20 contacts emphasizing "Thank you."

Fourteen parents encouraged the use of "Please." Rebecca's mother said, "You could have it if you asked right." Deborah's mother said, "Will you please tell Ida to put on a baked potato?" These 14 parents had 44 contacts emphasizing "Please."

Jennifer's mother and Peter's father both introduced their children to friends who came to the home.

Five parents, with a total of 12 instances, encouraged table manners. Tommy's mother said, "Eat right," and "Don't reach, I'll hand." Rebecca's mother said, "Don't eat so fast," and Deborah's mother said, "You have too much on your fork."

Three parents, with a total of 5 instances, encouraged "proper" treatment of a guest. For instance, Betsy's mother said, "Say, 'Come see me again'," and Jennifer's mother said, "Let him have it. He is your guest." Cedric's grandmother said, "Offer Miss —— some candy."

Six parents emphasized "proper" use of apology. Angus' mother said, "Mother's talking, excuse me"; Cornelia's mother said, "I'm sorry"; Nancy's mother said, "Pardon me." There was a total of 10 such instances.

Rebecca's mother and Tommy's mother both emphasized a well modulated voice.

Greetings and farewells accounted for 9 other contacts representing five parents. Rebecca's father said, "What do you say

when you see Daddy?" and Cedric's grandmother said, "Come in and say hello." (Cedric vehemently refused and won.) Phillip's mother said, "Come and say good-bye to grandma."

Five parents presented 8 contacts listed under "Miscellaneous." This included such instances as Cedric's saying, "I want to pee pee," and his granny's replying, "Sh! You mean 'go to the toilet'." When Charles referred to the social worker as "MacGregor," his mother said, "Call her *Miss* MacGregor."

This practice seemed a straightforward technique aimed at achieving social amenities and, as such, seemed successful.

Instructs the child in distinctions of property rights. An analysis of the data for this category, as defined on page 35, revealed that all but one of the parents emphasized the distinctions of property rights.

Most of the contacts fell into the classification of impressing upon the child the difference between "mine and thine," as when Caroline's mother said, "Three (balloons) are for you, and three are for David," or when Nancy's mother said, "That one is Daddy's and this one mine; you have your own place," or when Michael's mother said, "This is my comb. You use your own." Forty-one of the 57 contacts fell into this classification.

Another classification emphasized, as a privilege of ownership, the right to use an object. For instance, when Tina took a toy from another child, her mother said, "Why did you take it? It is the other baby's." When Angus wanted to take a toy, his mother said, "No, it is Charles'. He would die." When Jennifer played the radio, her mother said, "Now, don't touch. It is Mrs. Williams'. She doesn't want you to touch it."

There were 15 instances emphasizing the denial of use of property because it was someone else's.

A third classification emphasized, on the contrary, priority rather than ownership as a basis for legitimate use of an object. Deborah's mother emphasized priority rights to property when she said, "Yes, it is yours, but he had it first."

It is interesting to note that all the parents except Tony's mother felt so strongly this importance of "property rights" that they stressed them almost three times in (presumably) each

two and one-half hours of everyday life.[5] Ruth Benedict [5] points out that this concern over "property rights" is characteristic of our social mores. She says, ". . . in our civilization . . . man's paramount aim is to amass private possessions . . . to which we succumb, or in which we glory. . . . The whole course of life . . . emphasizes rivalry and ownership."

It is probable that in another culture which placed less emphasis on individual ownership and the special privileges accruing therefrom, parents might spend less effort on making these "property rights" distinctions to their children.

ANALYSIS OF DIVERTS THE CHILD AND CAUTIONS THE CHILD

Two categories, *Diverts the child* and *Cautions the child,* have been grouped as neutral practices because their use seemed to neutralize the objectives of the parent. Both practices *per se* seem desirable and effective; yet in this study they seemed misused so frequently that their effectiveness was lost.

Diverting the child seems a useful and desirable practice in many instances. It seems particularly desirable in situations where the child is unaware of wrongdoing or perhaps aware of wrongdoing without comprehending the wrong (such as when swearing). It also appears desirable in situations where there are physical reasons why the child should be spared. But in situations where the child is flaunting wrongdoing, diversion seems a direct avoidance by the parent of teaching desirable behavior. Even in those instances where diversion caused the child to cease the undesirable behavior, such practice failed in achieving the parent's ultimate aim of teaching desirable behavior.

Cautioning the child likewise seemed a useful and desirable practice in many instances. It was particularly desirable in arousing the child's concern for property or other people; but in instances where the child, of his own volition, was engaged in a difficult undertaking, the practice of cautioning seemed undesirable. It appeared to express the parent's own fear rather

[5] See thirty minutes of contact, page 13.

than to act as an aid to the child. In such situations it would be more advantageous to instruct the child in ways of protecting himself than to stand by urging caution.

Detailed analysis of these two categories follows:

Diverts the child. The analysis of the records for this behavior as defined on page 31 revealed that fourteen parents diverted their children in 5 different situations.

They diverted the child from crying. When Angus cried to get out of his crib, his mother brought a box of toys, saying, "Where could I put these? Where will this box go?" Nine parents distracted the child from crying, with a total of 19 such instances.

Eleven parents diverted the child from annoying behavior, as when Tony climbed over his mother and she said to him, "Go and build a house and I will come and look at it." There was a total of 20 such instances.

Three parents found occasion to divert the child from what might be termed "naughtiness." For example, when Alvin hit his father's head with a stick, his father said, "What did you see at the zoo today?" When Enid spit at her brother, he said, "Where is your paper, Toughy?" These three parents showed 9 instances of diverting the child from naughtiness.

Henry's mother used diversion as a means of getting the child to eat. As she put the glass of milk in front of him, she said, "And do you know what happened today?" Henry, listening to her, drank his milk.

Cedric's grandmother diverted him from subjects of conversation which apparently she did not like. This occurred once when he said he did not "want his teacher to come and see him." The grandmother said, "Look. Here are your lovely yellow slippers." A similar diversion occurred in the following conversation:

Cedric: "I'm going to kill you."

Granny: "That's very naughty. We don't kill people. We care for them. We only kill animals."

Cedric: "Do we run over them?"

Granny: "No, if we have to kill them, we shoot them very

quickly. What did you do in school today? What did you have to eat?"

This practice seemed to be successful in 60 per cent of the instances.

Cautions the child. An analysis of the data for this behavior as defined on page 29 revealed that all but two parents had occasion to caution their children in several situations. Five parents warned the child of possible danger to other people. Tony's mother said, "Look out! You will hurt me!" when he twisted a strap around her neck. Phillip's mother said, "Be careful! You'll hurt sister. You play too rough." Charles', Deborah's, and Peter's parents likewise warned them of harming other people. There was a total of 8 such practices for these five parents.

Eleven parents cautioned their children about caring for property. Enid's sister said, "Easy now, easy," when Enid shook the table. Henry's mother said, "Look out! You will tear the curtain," when the boy pulled the curtains aside. Angus' mother said, "Mustn't touch that!" (of bandage.) These eleven parents counseled concerning property, with a total of 19 instances of such practices.

The largest number of cautioning contacts had to do with the parent's warning the child of danger to himself. Forty-eight, or more than half, of 75 such contacts fell into this category. Nancy's mother said, "Don't get the knife too close." Cedric's grandmother cautioned, "Look out! It will fall on your feet."

In the first illustration, Nancy was challenged by cutting an onion with a knife and was being as careful as possible. In the second instance, Cedric was likewise challenged by carefully lifting a large bagatelle board onto the couch. In these instances, where the child is already being as careful as possible, it seems that the parent's warning is perhaps more an expression of fear on his part than a teaching device for the child.

Use of this practice by the parents in this study might be termed successful, however, in 98 per cent of the instances, as only one accident befell a child after his being cautioned.

ANALYSIS OF ROUTINE SITUATIONS

The category of *Helps the child in routine situations* often includes many other types of conduct, depending upon the parent's approach. In routine situations the parent may help by diversion, praise, interfering, dictating, encouraging a motor skill, using social amenities or by almost any other practice. It is an all-inclusive category, and probably seems to the parent of the small child to embrace all the others.

If the parent could find the one correct approach to helping the child in routine situations, he would not only save himself much trouble but probably aid in the child's total development. The present study indicates that encouraging the child in motor learning reduces the number of routine contacts, and that waiting for a child to perform a motor skill reduces the number of instances of hurrying the child in routine situations. Use of these two practices might be increased.

Other practices might also be used to aid in routine care. The parent might propel the child to the toilet by holding his hand, or motivate him by a smile. He might praise independence or reasonably expect conformity. Many of the positive practices might be tried in attempting to reduce routine care.

Helps the child in routine situations. An analysis of the data for this category, as defined on page 37, revealed that all but one of the parents helped the child with routine matters. The average number of instances per parent was 5.1 during the two periods of observation.

This category overlapped a number of others depending upon the parent's approach to the routine situation. For instance, "Hurry now; go to the toilet," "Eat, now, eat," or lifting the child from play to get undressed were all classified as *Helping the child in routine situations,* but also were classified as *Hurrying the child, Dictating to the child,* and *Interfering with the child.* Such instances as "Hold your fork in your right hand," and "That's a fine way to put on the sock," were classified under *Helping the child in routine situations* and also under

Encouraging motor learning and *Praising the child.* Most of these routine instances overlapped some other category, but were analyzed under each category because of the different interest values.

The largest number of routine contacts was held by Tina's mother. Tina was tubercular, a condition which may have caused her to be less independent than the other children. Moreover, it took longer to secure thirty minutes of contact in this home than in the others, which means that routine situations were more likely to arise. For example, there is more likelihood that a child will be put to bed, or given cod-liver oil, or need toilet attention in a two-hour period than in a one-hour period.

Nancy's mother had no instances of helping the child in a routine situation. This seemed to be accounted for by the fact that Nancy's records were secured relatively promptly and both of them were mainly related to social activities, a condition which Nancy's mother consciously sought.

Peter's mother showed only one instance of helping in a routine situation, and she had the highest score for encouraging motor learning. It seems that where time and effort were spent in encouraging motor skill, particularly if the motor skills were related to routine activity, less time and effort were needed for routine contacts. If this is generally true, parents, by encouraging motor skill, can relieve themselves of daily tasks and increase the independence of their children as well as relieve the tension and resistance usually found in routine situations.

The number of routine activities found in this study did not seem to be closely related to the age of the child. Tina, as mentioned above, had the largest number of such contacts, yet she ranked seventh in age. Candy, the youngest child, ranked second in number of routine situations; Nancy, the second youngest child, had no such contacts. These figures are too few for definite conclusions, but there seems to be no indication that the number of routine contacts is related to the age of the preschool child.

PARENT APPROACHES

The classification of parent approaches has been briefly discussed on page 23 and the definitions for this classification are presented on pages 39 to 42.

These parent-groupings came as a result of an apparent insistence in the records themselves. As each record was studied and each practice allocated to its appropriate category, the resulting tally frequently seemed the obvious result of the particular parent's approach to his child.

The parents presented various approaches. To study these approaches four qualities—cooperative, dictatorial, appeasing, and temporizing—were defined and the parents grouped under the four classifications.

The basis for this grouping was the impression-on-the-whole of the parent's approach to his child. During the course of the observation period, one parent might use at various times authoritarian, conciliatory, situational, or friendly methods in dealing with his child, but the sum total of his behavior indicated his underlying point of view. The nuances of voice inflection, gesture, movement, manner, sometimes declared more than the words or acts that appeared in the tables, the seemingly fundamental attitude of the parent toward his child. The limitations of our language and present recording methods cannot illustrate these telling overtones of action in all their significant variations; but, even though elusive, they were surely as much a part of the total picture as were the spoken words and larger movements which the investigator recorded on paper.

The motion picture that would faithfully present parent practices as they actually occur would portray the distraught, angry, or impatient face of the parent as well as her washing of her child's hands; its sound tracks would record the threatening or conciliatory tone of voice as much as the words actually spoken. Although the speed with which parent-child interplay occurred prevented the observer from recording more than the simpler, larger movements of the parent, the nuances that col-

ored the parent's words and acts gave them their character and declared, it seemed unmistakably, the parent's point of view.

CLASSIFICATION OF PARENTS BY APPROACH TO THEIR CHILDREN

When the twenty-one parents were studied for their underlying approaches to their children and classified in accordance with this approach, eight parents were listed as dictatorial in approach, seven as cooperative, two as appeasing, and three as temporizing.

The study of one set of records was considered separately because it showed unusual circumstances. The first record taken on Michael presented observation of the father, who was considered dictatorial in approach. The second record presented observation of the mother, who was cooperative in approach. A study of these records has been presented in Chapter VI as a special case history.

The grouping of the parents according to the parent approach is given in Table VIII.

TABLE VIII

GROUPING OF PARENTS ACCORDING TO THEIR APPROACH TO THEIR CHILDREN

Dictatorial Approach	*Cooperative Approach*	*Appeasing Approach*	*Temporizing Approach*
Parent of:			
Alvin	Betsy	Angus	Deborah
Candy	Cornelia	Cedric	Enid
Caroline	Drew		Henry
Charles	Jennifer		
Phillip	Nancy		
Rebecca	Peter		
Tommy	Tina		
Michael*	Michael*		
Tony			

* First observation period presented Michael under the care of his father, who was classified as using a dictatorial approach; the second observation period presented Michael under the care of his mother who was classified as using a cooperative approach.

The accuracy of this allocation of parents was checked by a second worker, who independently classified the parents after study of the records and according to the definitions of the parent approaches. The percentage of agreement between the investigator's and the independent worker's grouping was found to be 95 per cent.

NUMERICAL SUPPORT FOR GROUPING BY PARENT APPROACHES

The parents were grouped by the over-all impression of their total approach to their children, a grouping which received, in general, the numerical support of the tallies. In other words, those parents who were grouped as cooperative in their approach were the ones whose practices preponderantly included such categories as praising, reassuring, or offering reasons. Those whose total approach was dictatorial were those whose practices preponderantly included such categories as blaming, hurrying, and threatening the child.

This does not mean that these categories were not employed by parents who used other approaches. Each grouping, however, tended to present certain practices more often than did the other groups.

The parents who were classified as using a dictatorial approach presented the largest number of negative practices (56 per cent of the total), and the smallest number of positive practices (27 per cent of the total). They presented an average number of neutral practices (17 per cent of the total).

The parents who were classified as using a cooperative approach presented a larger number of positive than negative practices (56 per cent of the total, positive; 22 per cent of the total, negative). They presented an average number of neutral practices (22 per cent of the total).

The parents who were classified as using a conciliatory approach presented the largest number of positive practices (59 per cent of the total) and the smallest number of negative practices (10 per cent of the total). They also presented more

neutral practices than any other grouping (31 per cent of the total).

Those parents classified as using a temporizing approach presented more positive than negative practices (42 per cent of the total was positive; 40 per cent of the total was negative). They presented an average number of neutral practices (17 per cent of the total).

Although, in general, the grouping of the parent by his habitual approach received consistent numerical support from the tallies, there were three interesting cases in which this support was not present. These will be briefly described in the following pages.

Rebecca's mother had a score of 42 on the category of *Bestows affection.* This was the high score for the group and was apparently attributable to compensatory behavior of the mother. While the mother worked outside the home, Rebecca was left in incompetent and cruel hands. In her brief contacts with the child, the mother attempted to make up for this failure by affectionate gestures. Despite these gestures, however, the total parent approach was dictatorial.

Alvin's father showed similar variation in his approach. He had unusually high scores on *Gives academic instruction, Encourages the child in use of imagination,* and *Provokes the curiosity of the child.* This emphasis on intellectual development seemed also to be attributable to compensatory behavior. The father was militantly determined that Alvin should not follow in his footsteps.[6] The child was to be all the father was not; he was to have all the advantages that could be secured for him. The father read widely on child psychology, discussed at length the best theories to follow, and never relaxed his efforts to develop Alvin's potentialities. He lost no opportunity to provoke curiosity or give academic instruction, and was unrelenting in his resolve and his efforts to make of Alvin what he considered best.

A third exception occurred in the case of Tina's mother, who was classified as being cooperative in approach; yet she showed

[6] The father was unemployed.

a score of 6 on the category of *Dictates to the child.* This was not among the highest scores for this category, but it was the highest score for those parents classed as using a cooperative approach. In this case gentleness of touch and softness of voice served to rob the spoken words of their full dictatorial force.

Aside from these exceptions, the classification of the parents based on their approach as a whole seemed to receive fairly consistent numerical support from the tallies.

TOTAL NUMBER OF PRACTICES BY PARENT GROUPINGS

An interesting variation in the total number of practices was presented by each of the parent groupings.

Those parents who used an appeasing approach presented the largest number (average 107) of total contacts; those using a dictatorial approach presented the next largest number of contacts (average 105), and third and fourth were the parents who used temporizing and cooperative approaches (average 96 and 88 respectively). This may be something for parents to bear in mind when they are bewailing the amount of time devoted to their preschool children. Where cooperation exists, discussion is unnecessary; where appeasement is followed, discussion can never cease. Dictatorship requires constant direction, and a hit-or-miss approach is probably hit or miss in the amount of time required for parent-child relationships.

CONSISTENCY OF PARENT APPROACHES TO DIFFERENT CHILDREN

The impression-on-the-whole of the parent approach to the child seemed sufficiently consistent to allow for the grouping as described above; yet the question was raised as to whether the parent approach represented an underlying attitude toward all children, or merely the interaction of a particular parent and child.

In this study, six of the cases, where siblings were present, presented a parent approach which seemed consistent from child to child. But in three cases it seemed that the parent approach varied from one child to another.

Cedric's grandmother indicated in conversation that she had been much more dictatorial in her approach to her own children than she was in her approach to Cedric.

Angus' mother indicated that she had been less conciliatory in her approach to her older son, now seventeen years old, than she was to Angus.

Caroline's mother presented observable variation in her approach to her two children. She appeared unusually dictatorial to Caroline, yet markedly conciliatory to David, the younger brother.

Such variation in parent approach to different children may have many explanations. The family setups of the first two cases are sufficiently unusual to account partially for the reported variation. One would probably expect a grandmother to vary in her approach to her own children and to her grandson. One might also expect a mother to vary in her approach to two sons born fourteen years apart. These two variations might even be expected by reason of the change in the age of the parent.

The apparent reason for the variation in approach shown by Caroline's mother was the fact that Caroline was a rejected child. Such a condition would surely be reflected in the parent approach to the child, no matter what the cause for the rejection might be.

There are many reasons why a particular parent might be dictatorial in approach to one child and cooperative in approach to another. Symonds' [27], Simpson's [24], and many other studies discuss the rejection of only one child in a family of siblings. Many families have a favored child. Such variation in parent approach may be the result of many factors, not the least of which may be the characteristics of the child himself. The forces which combine to make the child what he is also combine to influence the parent approach to him.

ANALYSIS OF DATA PERTAINING TO PARENTS WHO USED A DICTATORIAL APPROACH

The eight parents who used a dictatorial approach to their children seemed as a group to be autocratic, tense, and discontented. This attitude might be the result of either physical or psychological factors.

These parents averaged the second largest number (105) of parent-child contacts. Of these contacts, 61 per cent were initiated by the parent and 39 per cent were initiated by the child.

They also presented the largest number of instances in the categories of *Threatening, Punishing, Blaming, Dictating to the child, Interfering with the child, Ignoring the child, Cautioning the child* and *Bestowing affection upon the child.*[7]

They also presented other telling variations. They were the only parents to employ threats of fearful situations, such as "the man's getting you" or the "colored woman's coming back." They also presented three of the four instances of threat of the father, all the instances of threat of social ostracism, and half the instances of threat of withdrawal of affection.

These parents not only punished their children more often than did other parents, but physical punishment provided 80 per cent of their instances, compared to 25 per cent of such instances for other parents.

Parents who were dictatorial in approach denounced their children as being "bad" five times more often than did other parents. They interfered with the child twice as often, and they used physical interference 40 per cent more often than did the other parents. However, they used physical interference following verbal interference less often than the other parents.

These parents ignored creditable achievements and appeals of the child 10 times more often than they ignored infringements or complaints. They presented the smallest number of

[7] One particular parent provided one-fourth of the total number of these instances, apparently as compensatory behavior (see page 61).

instances of *Provoking curiosity, Encouraging the child in motor learning, in language,* and *in distinctions of property rights.* They also had the smallest number of instances of *Offering reasons, Giving academic instruction, Reassuring* and *Enjoying the child as a social companion.*

ANALYSIS OF DATA PERTAINING TO PARENTS WHO USED A COOPERATIVE APPROACH

The seven parents classified as using a cooperative approach appeared to be friendly, relaxed, and happy. Either physical or psychological factors may account for this favorable condition.

These parents averaged the smallest number of parent-child contacts for any of the groups. Of these contacts the parents initiated 55 per cent and the child initiated 45 per cent.

These parents presented the smallest number of instances on the categories of *Hurrying the child, Blaming, Threatening, Ignoring, Praising, Diverting, Helping on routine tasks,* and *Bestowing affection upon the child.*

They presented the largest number of instances on the categories of *Instructing the child in distinctions of property rights, Giving academic instruction, Encouraging the acquisition of language and motor skills, Reassuring the child,* and *Enjoying him as a social companion.* These categories are very nearly those on which the dictatorial parents were negative.

ANALYSIS OF DATA PERTAINING TO PARENTS WHO USED A CONCILIATORY APPROACH

The two parents who were classified as using an appeasing approach had raised other children some fifteen years previously. Cedric's grandmother had raised her own two children, and Angus' mother had another son fourteen years his senior. Both these parents indicated in conversation that they had been less conciliatory in their approach to the previous children. It may be that "appeasement" comes with age, or it might be the fruit of experience.

These parents averaged more parent-child contacts [107] than any other group. Of these contacts the parents initiated 68 per cent as against 32 per cent initiated by the child.

Certain practices of behavior were not employed by these parents who were classified as appeasing in approach. They presented no instances of *Punishing, Blaming, Threatening,* or *Hurrying the child.* Neither did they resort to physical interference following verbal interference. These parents also presented the smallest number of instances of *Dictating, Interfering,* and *Cautioning the child.*

Certain practices were employed more often by these parents than by any others. They exceeded in number of instances of *Provoking curiosity, Diverting the child, Encouraging him in acquisition of social amenities* and *in use of imagination, Praising him, Helping him in routine situations* and *Talking of him in his presence.*

ANALYSIS OF DATA PERTAINING TO PARENTS WHO USED A TEMPORIZING APPROACH

The three "parents" who used a temporizing approach presented unusual problems. Two of the mothers had husbands whose business establishments were on the floor below the dwelling. These mothers seemed more concerned with being overheard by their husbands than with problems of their children. Perhaps insecurity in the husband-wife relationship prevented the mothers from adopting a more decided attitude toward the children.

The third "parent" was a brother and sister acting as parent-surrogate and more or less intent upon their own problems. The children of this group were rated lower on intellectual ability than were the other children. It seems possible that this hit-or-miss method may be the result of conflicting attention, lesser mental ability, or both.

These parents averaged 96 parent-child contacts. Of this number, 62 per cent were initiated by the parent, and 38 per cent were initiated by the child.

They presented the largest number of instances in the two categories of *Hurrying the child* and *Giving reasons to the child,* and the smallest number of instances in the four categories of *Punishing the child, Talking of him in his presence, Encouraging him in use of imagination* and *in acquisition of social amenities.*

These various findings seem to indicate that there is a differentiation among parents in their approach to their children and that this differentiation is evident in the kinds of practices employed, in the total number of contacts, and in the percentage of contacts initiated by the parent and by the child.

The parents using a dictatorial and a cooperative approach seemed to present the most clear-cut differences.

The parents using a dictatorial approach seemed consistent in employing a preponderance of negative practices. They also averaged larger numbers of parent-child contacts than did other parents, and they initiated more of these contacts than did their children.

The parents using a cooperative approach seemed consistent in employing a preponderance of positive practices. They averaged smaller numbers of parent-child contacts than did other parents and showed mutual give-and-take in the parent-child relationship by initiating only a few more contacts than did their children.

The differentiating characteristics of the parents using a temporizing or an appeasing approach may not be clearly shown because of the small number of cases represented. Or it might be that these two approaches are merely variations of either the cooperative or the dictatorial approach brought about by the unusual circumstances attendant in the specific cases (see pages 95 and 96).

At any rate, such variation as is found among these parents in their approaches to their children seems to challenge further investigation. Why do some parents show a cooperative approach to their children when other parents show an authoritive one? Is it caused by factors in the family setup, such as might be the case with Cedric or Enid (see pages 95 and 96), or

is it caused by characteristics of the child himself? Are these parent approaches equally effective in child training?[8] Which approach produces the most desirable child? Further study of the parent approach to the child is required to answer these questions.

[8] Several of these families were interviewed a few years after the study was made. Two of the parents, classified as using a dictatorial approach, reported entirely satisfactory children. Tommy was his mother's helper, confidant, and refuge; he consoled and cared for her. Alvin was the delight of his father; he was outstanding in school, manly in behavior, and ambitious for the future. But Cedric's grandmother, classified as using an appeasing approach, reported a completely spoiled child, unable and unwilling to win friends, moved only by desire for petty cash to spend on candy.

CHAPTER VI

ANALYSIS OF DATA FROM CONTACTS INITIATED BY THE CHILDREN

An analysis was made of the data from the point of view of contacts initiated by the children, in an effort to find any information which might indicate the interrelationship between parents' practices and children's behavior. Three approaches were made to the problem.

In the first approach, the children were rated on a scale which attempted to show some of their behavior in relation to their total adjustment. They were rated on such characteristics as degree of intellectual ability and language development, degree of such traits as happiness, security, and resourcefulness, and of such traits as bossiness, fearfulness, and demandingness.

The second approach presented an analysis of nine categories of behavior of the children. These categories included such practices as *Helping the parent, Showing hostility toward the parent,* and *Crying.*

A third approach to the problem was made in a detailed analysis of one particular child, including the study of opposing parent approaches and resulting behavior in the child.

ANALYSIS OF DATA AS SHOWN BY RATING THE CHILDREN ON A SCALE

All the children were rated on a rough scale designed to indicate the quality of their total adjustment. The scale included three groupings of items; the first, labeled, "General Ability," included language ability, motor ability, social ability, intellectual ability, general competence. The second grouping was labeled "Positive Emotional Characteristics," and included security, cooperativeness, resourcefulness, happiness. The third

TABLE

SCORES OF CHILDREN

	Charles	*Alvin*	*Rebecca*	*Candy*	*Caroline*	*Tommy*	*Phillip*	*Tony*	*Total for Children Whose Parents Used a Dictatorial Approach*	*Enid*	*Deborah*	*Henry*	*Total for Children Whose Parents Used a Temporizing Approach*
General Ability													
Language ability	4	4	3	3	4	3	3	3		2	3	3	
Motor ability	4	3	3	3	3	3	4	4		2	3	3	
Social ability	2	2	3	4	2	3	4	4		2	4	3	
Intellectual ability	4	4	3	3	3	3	3	3		2	3	3	
General competence	4	4	2	4	3	2	3	4		2	4	3	
Total	18	17	14	17	15	14	17	18	130	10	17	15	42
Positive Emotional													
Security	2	3	2	4	2	2	2	3		3	4	3	
Cooperativeness	2	2	3	3	2	4	4	3		3	4	3	
Resourcefulness	4	3	2	3	2	3	3	3		2	3	2	
Happiness	2	2	2	4	2	2	2	3		3	4	3	
Total	10	10	9	14	8	11	11	12	85	11	15	11	37
Negative Emotional													
Subjugation	2	2	3	2	4	4	3	4		2	2	2	
Fearfulness	4	2	4	2	4	3	4	4		4	2	3	
Demandingness	4	4	4	3	4	4	2	2		4	2	4	
Bossiness	4	4	4	3	4	2	2	2		4	2	0	
Whininess	0	3	3	2	4	3	2	2		4	2	3	
Total	14	15	18	12	20	16	13	14	122	18	10	12	40

* Michael is listed separately since one period of observation was made on his father fied as a cooperator.

grouping was labeled "Negative Emotional Characteristics," and included fearfulness, demandingness, bossiness, whininess, subjugation.

The grouping of these items under these labels was done arbitrarily for the purpose of comparing characteristics generally considered positive and negative. The allocation of some

IX

ON A RATING SCALE

	Cornelia	*Betsy*	*Tina*	*Nancy*	*Jennifer*	*Drew*	*Peter*	*Total for Children Whose Parents Used a Cooperative Approach*	*Cedric*	*Angus*	*Total for Children Whose Parents Used an Appeasing Approach*	*Michael**
General Ability												
Language ability	4	4	3	5	4	4	4		4	3		4
Motor ability	3	4	3	4	3	3	4		3	3		3
Social ability	4	4	3	5	4	4	4		4	3		4
Intellectual ability	4	4	3	5	4	5	4		4	3		4
General competence	4	3	2	5	4	2	4		3	3		4
Total	19	19	14	24	19	18	20	133	18	15	33	19
Positive Emotional												
Security	3	3	3	4	3	2	4		4	4		3
Cooperativeness	3	3	3	4	3	3	3		3	3		3
Resourcefulness	4	3	2	3	3	2	4		3	3		4
Happiness	3	3	3	4	3	2	4		4	4		3
Total	13	12	11	15	12	9	15	87	14	14	28	13
Negative Emotional												
Subjugation	2	2	3	1	2	3	2		2	2		2
Fearfulness	2	2	3	1	2	4	2		2	2		2
Demandingness	2	3	3	3	3	4	2		4	4		4
Bossiness	2	3	3	3	3	3	2		4	4		3
Whininess	2	3	3	1	3	3	2		1	3		0
Total	10	13	15	9	13	17	10	87	13	15	28	11

classified as a dictator, and the other period of observation was made on his mother classi-

of the characteristics may be open to question.

The children were rated as to the degree in which they possessed a certain characteristic. The ratings were most, more, average, less, least, and not enough evidence, and were given corresponding numerical values of 5, 4, 3, 2, 1 and 0. This meant that a child with a high score possessed the trait to a

marked degree and one with a low score to only a slight degree.

The reliability of the rating was determined by computing the correlation between the investigator's rating and that of an independent worker. This independent worker rated the children after careful study of the records. The coefficient of correlation was found to be .64 ± .035.

Table IX shows the scores for all the children and the total scores for the children when grouped according to parent approaches. This scoring may be inaccurate because of a carry-over in the mind of the investigator. That is, if a parent used a number of frightening threats, the investigator might tend to score the child as more fearful than would have been indicated from the child's behavior alone. Such a carry-over would seem inevitable, and could only be eliminated by a scoring of the child by a worker who had not seen the parent or read the records.

That the scoring is not entirely spurious seems evident from the coefficient of correlation of .64 between the investigator's rating and that of an independent worker who scored the children after careful study of the records.

Study of Table IX reveals that of the ten children ranking highest in general ability, six were among the highest ten in positive emotional characteristics, and among the lowest nine in negative emotional characteristics. Three of the children ranking highest in general ability ranked among the lowest five in positive emotional characteristics, and among the highest ten in negative emotional characteristics. One child (Betsy) among the first ten in general ability had positive and negative emotional characteristic scores that were almost balanced (12 and 13 respectively).

Nancy, who held the highest of all the scores on general ability, also held the highest score on positive emotional characteristics and the lowest score in negative emotional characteristics. Enid, lowest of all on general ability, was among the highest three on negative emotional characteristics.

Caroline and Rebecca, the children with the highest negative emotional characteristic scores, had the lowest positive emotional characteristic scores.

Nancy, Peter, and Deborah tied for highest score in positive emotional characteristics. Nancy and Peter were the highest in general ability. Nancy was lowest in negative emotional characteristics, and Peter and Deborah were only one point each higher than Nancy in their low score in negative emotional characteristics.

Scrutiny of individual figures reveals that those children who exhibited unusually large numbers of affectionate contacts[1] toward their parents presented the lowest rating on feeling of security. It has already been pointed out that these same children received the smallest numbers of affectionate contacts from their parents. It therefore seems evident that when children indulge in many affectionate contacts toward their parents, they feel either lack of security or affection, or both.

The parents who ranked highest in the category of *Encourages the child in motor learning*[2] had children who scored highest on general competence and among the highest on motor ability.

There was a tendency for those parents who had the highest scores on *Provoking the curiosity of the child* to have children who ranked highest on intellectual ability.

There was a slight tendency for those children who were frequently cautioned to show low scores on resourcefulness.

It also seemed that the children with high scores on social ability had parents showing the largest number of instances of enjoying their children as social companions.[3]

All but two of the parents who reassured[4] their children had children with very low scores on fearfulness.

There seemed no correlation between language ability and number of instances of encouraging the child in acquisition of language.[5]

The children who evinced the most fearfulness (with the exception of Drew) had parents who threatened, punished, and blamed them most often.

[1] See analysis of *Bestows affection on the child*, page 60.
[2] See analysis of *Instructs the child in motor learning*, page 75.
[3] See page 55.
[4] See page 64.
[5] See page 74.

Study of individual cases seemed to indicate that children who were rated as well adjusted by this scale had parents who presented more positive than negative practices; conversely, those children who were rated as poorly adjusted had parents who presented more negative than positive practices.

Nancy, who had the highest score on positive characteristics, also had the lowest score on negative characteristics. Her records seemed to reveal a very well adjusted child, healthy, happy, and beloved. Nancy's mother presents an average score when she is classified, according to her positive, negative, and neutral practices.

Enid, on the other hand, indicates from her scores that she is the least well adjusted of the children. Her parent-surrogates showed scores below average on positive practices and above average on negative practices. However, the fact that Enid's mother had died would surely account for part of the child's poor adjustment.

Children who presented high scores on *Bossiness, Demandingness,* and *Happiness,* and low scores on *Fearfulness, Subjugation,* and *General Competence,* had parents who presented no instances of *Punishing, Blaming, Threatening,* nor *Hurrying,* the smallest numbers of instances of *Dictating, Interfering,* and *Cautioning,* and the largest numbers of instances of *Provoking curiosity, Diverting, Praising, Encouraging in acquisition of social amenities* and *in use of imagination, Helping in routine situations,* and *Talking of the child in his presence.* The indications of these findings are that happy children are rarely punished, threatened, or blamed; that bossy children are rarely interfered with; that incompetent children are frequently helped in routine situations; and that fearless children are rarely cautioned.

Children who presented low scores on *Language, Motor* and *Intellectual ability,* and *Bossiness, Resourcefulness,* and *Subjugation,* and high scores on *Whininess, Security* and *Cooperativeness,* had parents who presented the smallest number of instances of *Punishing, Talking of the child in his presence,* and *Encouraging him in the use of imagination* and *in acquisition*

of social amenities; and the largest number of instances of *Hurrying the child* and *Offering reasons to the child.* One might conclude that whiney children are rarely punished and frequently hurried, and that resourceful and fearless children are dealt with reasonably.

Children who presented the highest scores on *General competence, Motor ability, Happiness,* and *Security* and the lowest score on *Demandingness* had parents who presented the smallest number of instances of *Hurrying, Blaming, Threatening, Ignoring, Praising, Diverting, Helping on routine tasks,* and *Bestowing affection upon the child.* These parents also presented the largest number of instances of *Instructing the child in the distinctions of property rights, Giving academic instruction, Encouraging the acquisition of language* and *in motor learning, Reassuring,* and *Enjoying the child as a social companion.*

One might conclude from these findings that competent children are infrequently helped in routine situations, that children with good motor ability are frequently encouraged to learn motor skills, that happy children are treated as social companions, and that secure children are frequently reassured.

Children who presented low scores on *Security, Cooperativeness,* and *Whininess,* and high scores on *Fearfulness, Bossiness,* and *Subjugation,* had parents who presented many instances of *Threatening, Blaming, Ignoring,* and *Cautioning the child.* These parents also presented few instances of *Provoking curiosity, Encouraging motor learning,* and *Distinctions of property rights, Giving reasons, Reassurances,* and *Enjoying the child as a social companion.*

Thus it seems that children who are frequently threatened and blamed show signs of insecurity, children who are not taught the distinctions of property rights and given examples of reasonable behavior appear uncooperative, and children who are frequently ignored may resort to bossiness in an effort to elicit a response.

All these findings seem to indicate that there is an interrelationship between parent behavior and characteristics of the

child. The child who seemed well adjusted, according to this scale, had parents who presented more positive than negative practices. Conversely, the child who seemed poorly adjusted had parents who presented more negative than positive practices.

This interrelationship is probably interdependent. The parent's behavior doubtless has a direct effect upon the child's characteristics, and the child's characteristics a direct effect upon the parent's behavior. One child may call forth affectionate and reassuring behavior from a parent, and in turn show himself to be dependable and lovable. Another child might evoke from the same parent dictatorial and threatening behavior, and display rebellious and dictatorial characteristics. Only detailed study would throw light on which is cause and which effect.

PRACTICES OF THE CHILDREN AS SHOWN BY ANALYSIS OF NINE CATEGORIES OF BEHAVIOR

Nine categories of child behavior were defined and analyzed to show some of the practices of the children and to relate these to the behavior of the parents. The categories were chosen mainly as the result of their emphasis in the records themselves, but the categories of *Dictates to the parent* and *Displays affection for the parent* were included as parallels to *Dictates to the child* and *Bestows affection upon the child.*

The list of categories chosen included: *Displays affection for the parent; Cries; Dictates to the parent; Displays hostility toward the parent; Helps the parent; Obeys the parent; Resists the parent; Seeks independence of the parent; Teases the parent.* The definitions of these categories are given on pages 44 to 46.

These categories were grouped into two broad classifications designating practices as positive or negative in approach to the parent. The categories of *Helping the parent, Obeying,* and *Displaying affection for the parent* were considered positive expressions to the parent. *Dictating to the parent, Resisting the parent, Seeking independence of the parent, Displaying hostility toward the parent, Crying,* and *Teasing the parent* were considered negative expressions to the parent.

TABLE X

TOTAL NUMBER OF PRACTICES FOR ALL CHILDREN

Child	*Displays Affection for Parent*	*Cries*	*Dictates to Parent*	*Helps Parent*	*Displays Hostility toward Parent*	*Obeys Parent*	*Resists Parent*	*Seeks Independence of Parent*	*Teases Parent*	*Total*
Alvin	4	5	3	3	3	18	10	0	7	53
Angus	1	2	0	2	0	9	14	0	0	28
Betsy	6	7	4	1	0	14	7	2	2	43
Candy	2	13	0	0	0	25	12	1	3	56
Caroline	10	15	1	9	3	16	5	0	3	62
Cedric	1	3	1	3	1	16	16	1	7	49
Charles	7	1	0	2	0	28	17	4	9	68
Cornelia	6	3	0	3	0	15	1	0	1	29
Deborah	3	1	0	9	1	36	7	0	1	58
Drew	16	3	0	1	1	15	6	0	2	44
Enid	4	1	0	6	1	25	8	0	11	56
Henry	5	0	0	4	1	19	9	0	8	46
Jennifer	1	0	0	3	1	12	7	1	1	26
Michael	0	1	0	4	1	13	9	3	2	33
Nancy	1	2	0	1	0	23	8	0	9	44
Peter	6	0	1	14	0	14	11	1	3	50
Phillip	2	2	0	5	3	12	7	4	6	41
Rebecca	7	1	0	3	1	20	7	1	0	40
Tina	5	4	2	2	0	20	13	1	7	54
Tommy	0	3	0	1	1	36	12	0	4	57
Tony	26	3	3	1	2	26	17	1	3	82
Total	113	70	15	77	20	412	203	20	89	1,019

Analysis of these categories revealed that the children presented 602 positive and 417 negative expressions to the parent.

In general, those children who presented large numbers of positive practices had parents who presented large numbers of negative practices; and children who presented large numbers of negative practices had parents who presented large numbers of negative practices. This might indicate that children whose parents used more negative than positive practices attempted to win favorable attention by showing affection and obeying quickly, but that they also felt hostility for their parents and

used frequent negative practices because such practices provided the predominant home pattern.

Table X is the master table of the practices of the children.

ANALYSIS OF CATEGORIES CONSIDERED AS POSITIVE IN APPROACH TO THE PARENT

The three categories of *Displaying affection for the parent, Helping,* and *Obeying the parent* were considered positive expressions to the parent. Analysis of these categories revealed that, though only three categories were considered positive expressions to the parent and six categories negative expressions, these children presented almost one and a half times more positive than negative practices.

Obeying the parent provided almost half (412) the total number of contacts. All the children had contacts of this kind, with a range of 9 (Angus) to 36 (Tommy), during the two periods of observation. In more than two-thirds of the instances obedience was the immediate result of the parent's behest.

There were five times as many expressions of *affection for the parent* as expressions of *hostility toward the parent.*

All but one (Candy, the youngest) of the children helped their parents, and one-fifth of these instances of assistance were voluntary.

The children whose parents used a dictatorial approach averaged more instances of *Displaying affection for the parent* than did the other children. The children whose parents used a temporizing approach averaged more instances of *Obeying* and *Helping the parent* than did the other children. The children whose parents used an appeasing approach averaged fewer instances of all three of these practices than did the others.

It is conceivable that an appeasing approach makes for an unhelpful, unaffectionate, resistant child, that a temporizing approach makes for a helpful and obedient child, and that a dictatorial approach makes for an affectionate child. Other factors which support these tentative conclusions are presented in the following detailed analysis of these categories.

Consideration of these positive practices in relation to the child's rating on the Sims socio-economic score card indicated that the children who were rated high on the scale showed more affection for their parents than did the children who were rated low, and that the children who rated low presented more instances of obedience than did the children who were rated high. All the children showed frequent instances of helping their parents.

Displays affection for the parent. An analysis of the data for this behavior as defined on page 44 revealed that the children in this study presented 113 expressions of affection to the parent. This is about three-fourths of the number of affectionate contacts which the parents showed for the child. The children presented 8 verbal and 105 physical expressions of affection for the parent. This is in marked contrast to the parents who presented 5 times as many verbal as physical expressions of affection.

There was a low negative correlation ($-.101 \pm .22$) between the number of affectionate contacts initiated by the parent and the number initiated by the child. The children who presented the largest number of affectionate gestures to their parents received the smallest number of such gestures. These children were rated as least secure on the rating scale, and their parents were classified as using a dictatorial approach. The children (with the exception of Tommy) who presented the smallest number of affectionate gestures to their parents were rated as most secure on the rating scale, and their parents were classified as using an appeasing or cooperative approach. This raises the question of whether children attempt to elicit affection when they feel a lack of it and whether this lack of affection makes for insecurity in the child.

Tommy provided the exception to the generality that children who received the least affection offered the most to their parents. Tommy's parents presented no instances of affection for him, and he in turn presented no instances of affection for them. Tommy seemed to be making his adjustment to dictatorial and ungentle behavior by assuming an attitude of marked bravado

and rebellion. It seemed possible that he did not receive enough gestures of affection to develop a pattern for learning such behavior. It also seemed possible that he might not show affection, in order to get affection, because he did not feel as insecure in his situation as did the other children in similar situations.

The possibility that Tommy was not insecure in his position received support when he was revisited several years later. At this time he was found to be proud and secure in the position of his mother's helper and champion.

It is possible that a consistent policy of dictatorial behavior does not as readily create a feeling of insecurity as does a policy which alternates between dictatorial and affectionate practices.

Specific circumstances may cause variations in the affection displayed toward parents. This seemed true in the case of Betsy, who showed only one affectionate gesture toward her mother during the first period of observation. During the second observation period, however, she was sick, and presented five affectionate contacts in a shorter period of time. Possibly sick children try to secure more attention and use affection as a means to this end. Betsy seemed to do this when she hugged her mother and said, "You are mine," when the mother attempted to leave the bedside. It is also possible that lack of vigor increased a feeling of insecurity and the overt affection was an attempt to allay this feeling. At any rate, in this study children who were rated as insecure, and who had parents who used more negative than positive practices, showed more affection toward their parents than did other children.

When the incidence of affectionate gestures was considered in relation to the child's rating on the Sims socio-economic score card, it was found that the children who were rated high on the scale averaged almost twice as many affectionate gestures as did the children who were rated low. This preponderance was largely contributed by Drew, who was rated as insecure.[6]

The range for affectionate gestures to the parent was from 1 (for Nancy, Jennifer, Cedric, and Angus) to 26 (for Tony) during the two periods of observation.

[6] See analysis of *Bestows affection upon the child,* page 61.

Helps the parent. An analysis of the data for this behavior as defined on page 45 revealed that all but one of the children helped their parents. Candy, the youngest child, had no instances of helping. The other children presented a range of 1 (Betsy, Drew, Nancy, Tommy, and Tony) to 14 (Peter) instances during the two periods of observation.

Eight of the children offered assistance, as when Caroline said, "I'll help make the beds." There was a total of 77 instances of helping the parent, and 16 of these instances were volunteered by the children. The children whose parents were classified as using a temporizing approach helped their parents most often, and the children whose parents were classified as using an appeasing approach helped their parents least often. The latter children had no instances of offering assistance to their parents.

When the incidence of helping the parent was considered in relation to the child's rating on the Sims socio-economic score card, it was found that the highest (scores of 9, 8, and 7) and the lowest (scores of 6, 5, 4, and 3) groupings averaged almost equal numbers of instances of children helping their parents.

It seems, then, that most children do help their parents, and many of them do so on their own initiative.

Obeys the parent. An analysis of the data for this category of behavior as defined on page 45 revealed that all the children obeyed commands, demands, and requests of the parent. In this category the child could either conform immediately to a situation, as when Candy's mother said, "Stand up," and Candy did so; or the child could resist unsuccessfully,[7] as when Candy resisted the first admonition to stand but complied when the command was repeated.

There were 296 instances of immediate conformity and 116 instances of eventual conformity, with a total of 412 instances.

The children whose parents used a temporizing approach averaged more instances of obedience and more instances of immediate conformity than any of the other children. The children whose parents used an appeasing approach averaged the

[7] See analysis of *Resists the parent,* page 118.

smallest number of instances of obeying, and averaged the largest number of instances of resistance.[8] It might be assumed that a temporizing attitude induces obedience in the child and that an appeasing attitude does not.

The incidence of obedience was considered in relation to the child's economic rating as shown by the Sims scale. Such consideration showed that the children whose ratings were in the four lowest levels (ratings of 3, 4, 5, and 6) presented an average of 26 instances of obedience. The children whose ratings were in the highest three levels (ratings of 7, 8, and 9) presented an average of 15 instances of obedience. Since these same groupings showed similar variation in total number of practices, it is doubtful whether the differentiation has any real significance. One might conclude that the main significance of the findings is that all children obey their parents in large numbers of instances, and that two-thirds of the instances represent immediate obedience.

ANALYSIS OF CATEGORIES CONSIDERED NEGATIVE IN APPROACH TO THE PARENT

Six categories of behavior, *Teasing the parent, Displaying hostility toward the parent, Seeking independence of the parent, Resisting the parent, Dictating to the parent,* and *Crying,* were considered negative expressions to the parent. Analysis of these categories of behavior revealed 417 such expressions.

The children whose parents used more negative than positive practices presented more instances of *Crying, Seeking independence of the parent,* and *Displaying hostility toward the parent* than did the other children. Those whose parents used more positive than negative practices presented more instances of *Dictating, Resisting,* and *Teasing the parent. Dictating to the parent* seemed to occur either when the child was reasonably sure he would "get away" with it (i. e., special consideration due to illness, etc.), or when the home pattern offered such behavior as the predominant example.

[8] See analysis of *Resists the parent,* page 118.

Resisting the parent seemed more an expression of self-assertion than an actual attempt at non-conformity, because in more than two-thirds of the instances the child eventually conformed. *Seeking independence, Crying,* and *Expressing hostility* seemed to occur most often when the parent used dictatorial and negative practices. *Teasing* seemed to occur more frequently when the parent used ignoring and diverting practices.

The children who rated high on the Sims scale presented more instances of *Dictating, Crying,* and *Displaying hostility* than did the children who rated low. Those who rated low on the scale presented more instances of *Resisting, Teasing,* and *Seeking independence of the parent* than did the children who rated high on the scale.

The detailed analysis of these six categories follows:

Displays hostility toward the parent. An analysis of the data for this category as defined on page 45 revealed that the children who showed the largest number of instances of hostility toward their parents were those whose parents tended to be dictatorial in behavior and made use of more negative than positive practices. The hostility shown fell into the three groupings of verbal, physical, and inhibited action.

Verbal hostility was shown when Rebecca said, "I'm going to hurt you," or when Phillip said, "I don't like Mamma—I don't care whether she dies or not," or when Cedric said, "I'm going to kill you." Six children presented instances of verbal hostility in a total of 7 instances.

Physical hostility was shown when Alvin hit his father on the head with a stick, when Tony put his feet on his mother, or when Jennifer kicked her mother. Eight children expressed physical hostility toward their parents in a total of 11 instances.

Inhibited action occurred when Tommy made faces at his mother, or when Caroline made a hitting gesture toward her mother. These children provided 2 instances of this behavior.

Eight children did not show any hostility toward their parents. Five of these same children did not present any dictatorial contacts.

Of the children who showed hostility toward their parents,

those whose parents used a dictatorial approach averaged the most such practices, followed in order by those whose parents used a temporizing, appeasing, and cooperative approach. Thus it seems that hostility is expressed toward parents of all groups, but more often to those parents who are dictatorial and make use of many negative practices.

Cries. An analysis of the data for this category as defined on page 45 revealed that all but three of the children cried at some time. The various instances of crying were classified by such situations as the following:

One child cried from fear. When the vacuum cleaner was turned on, Caroline cried and ran from the room. She also cried when threatened with a spanking by her mother.

Four children, in a total of 5 instances, cried when they hurt themselves. Three cried when they were punished by their parents; for instance, Phillip cried when he was isolated, and Candy cried when her mother spanked her. There were 4 instances of this behavior.

Two children cried when they were annoyed by another child, as when Caroline's brother scratched her, or when he tried to ride on her bicycle, or when Deborah's brother took her book. There were 6 instances of this behavior.

Six children cried when they encountered deprivation, as when Tony's mother took a strap away from him, or when Caroline was not allowed to go for a walk. These 6 children cried 7 times in this kind of situation.

Interference caused the largest amount of crying. Nine children cried when interfered with, in a total of 21 instances. Drew cried when he was brought back up the hill; Michael cried when he was forced to stop playing; Candy cried when she was not allowed to climb on the table.

Six children cried as a means of resistance.[9] Drew cried when his mother tried to put him on the ground and he wanted to sit by her; Tina cried when she did not want to leave the window. The total number of instances of crying as resistance was 19, and 10 of these were of children's resisting routine[10]

[9] See *Resists the parent,* page 118.
[10] *Ibid.*

activities. For example, Candy cried because she did not want to eat; Betsy cried when she was forced to the toilet; Alvin cried when his father washed his ears.

A grouping of "Miscellaneous" included instances such as Angus' crying because his mother did not come when he called, and Cornelia's crying because her mother said, "I can't understand you, because your mouth is full." This classification provided 6 instances of crying.

There was a total of 70 instances of crying with a range of 1 (Michael, Rebecca, Deborah, Enid, and Charles) to 15 (Caroline) during the two periods of observation.

This analysis shows that parental interference causes the largest number of crying instances, and resisting the second largest number, with resistance to routine care providing half these resisting incidents. Noises and fear of threats cause crying, as do also annoyances and punishment.

Children whose parents use more negative than positive practices cry more often than do other children. It seems that in more than half the instances crying of children is the result of parent behavior.

Teases the parent. The analysis of the data for this behavior as defined on page 46 revealed that all but two children made use of this practice in several different situations. Ten teased their parents by playfulness, as when Nancy said, "I'm going to catch you," and tackled her father around the legs. Cedric rolled up the bed clothes, laughing and calling, "I am making a snow man." Cornelia, who was sweeping the floor, said, "I'll sweep the walls too," and precariously moved the broom into that position. There was a total of 21 teasing contacts based on playful behavior.

Fourteen of the children teased their parents by nagging or making petty requests, as when Alvin said, "I want to play with that box. Give me the box, Daddy. Daddy, I want to play with the box. Get me the box, Daddy." Or when Enid said, "Get me a cracker. Where is my cracker? 'Gimme' a cracker. Hey, I 'wanta' cracker." Or when Peter, who was dressing himself, said, "I can't, Mummy. Mummy, the heel won't go on.

I can't do it, Mummy. Mummy help; it won't go. I can't do it, Mummy," etc. There was a total of 43 teasing contacts based on nagging.

Five of the children teased by their impertinence, as when Enid said, "I'll spit in your eye," or when Tommy said to his mother, "Are you going to eat, monkey?" Or when Nancy said, "I'll kick you around." Some of these cases, such as when Tommy called his mother a monkey, might have been classified as "teasing by playfulness" had it not been for the attitude of the parent. The parent treated the act as impertinence, which is the reason why it was so classified. There was a total of 17 such contacts.

Five of the children had teasing contacts based on jesting or raillery, as when Henry said to his mother, "I swallowed my gum," and then at her consternation he pulled it out, saying, "I fooled you." Or when Peter said, "Daddy doesn't know. He doesn't know anything." Or when Cedric's grandmother said, "Did you brush your teeth at school?" and he said, "No, there wasn't any place to." Tommy and Nancy also had contacts of this kind, making a total of 8 instances.

The total number of teasing contacts was 89, with a range of 1 (Cornelia, Deborah, Jennifer) to 11 (Enid) during the two periods of observation.

The children whose parents were classified as using a temporizing approach, and who frequently employed the practices of ignoring and diverting, presented more instances of teasing than did other children.

The children who rated low on the Sims socio-economic score card presented more than twice as many teasing incidents as did the children who rated high on the scale.

It appears from this analysis that teasing occurs most frequently when parents employ an indecisive attitude and frequently use ignoring and diverting as techniques.

Seeks independence of the parent. An analysis of the data for this behavior as defined on page 46 revealed that eleven children sought independence of their parents. They did so in either routine or non-routine activities. Jennifer sought for in-

dependence in routine activity when she said, "I'll wipe my own hands," and Michael said, "I can fix my own milk." Seven children presented a total of 10 instances of seeking independence on routine activities.

Eight children, with a total of 10 instances, sought for independence in non-routine situations, such as when Peter said, "I can take back the knife," or Nancy said, "I can cut it myself."

The children whose parents were classified as using a dictatorial approach presented more instances of seeking independence and more instances of seeking independence in routine situations than did the other children.

The children who rated low on the Sims socio-economic score card presented more instances of seeking independence than did the children who rated high on the scale.

There was a total of 20 instances of this behavior, with a range of 1 to 4 during the two periods of observation.

It seems that seeking independence occurs more frequently among children whose parents use more negative than positive practices and whose economic level is lower than that of children who seek less often for independence.

Dictates to the parent. The analysis of the data for this behavior as defined on page 45 revealed that seven children, with a total of 15 instances, dictated to their parents. This is in contrast to the analysis of *Dictates to the child* (page 78) which revealed that seventeen of the parents dictated to the child in a total of 231 such occurrences. In other words, more than twice as many parents as children employed the practice, and the parents used the practice more than 15 times as often as did the children.

It seemed that children employed dictatorial practices in one of two situations: when they felt reasonably sure it would be successful, or when the home pattern offered little opportunity to learn any other behavior.

Four children, with a total of 10 instances, used dictatorial behavior when reasonably sure of success. Betsy, who was ill,[11]

[11] During the second observation period, when Betsy was well, there was only one instance of dictating to the parent.

presented the largest number of instances. Tina, who was tubercular, also presented a higher than average number of instances. It is possible that children are more dictatorial when sick because of the condition of being ill, but it is also possible that they employ this practice when ill because the circumstances lead them to believe that the practice will be successful.

Cedric and Alvin each presented more than average numbers of dictating instances; both of them had reason to believe such behavior would be successful. Alvin's father deliberately encouraged self-assertion in the child, with the result that dictatorial behavior was a successful practice.

Cedric's grandmother, though disapproving, had accepted dictatorial behavior, and allowed Cedric to find it a successful practice.

Two children, with a total of 4 instances, used dictatorial behavior when the home pattern seemed to offer little opportunity to learn any other behavior.

Tony and Caroline did not find dictating a successful practice, and their use of it might be attributed to imitation, as the example was frequently presented.

Peter had one instance of dictating, and his case is not covered by either of the two previous explanations. It may be that he represents children in general who at one time or another employ such practices whether or not they are successful.

The children who rated high on the Sims socio-economic score card averaged more instances of dictating to the parent than did the children who rated low on the scale. Children's dictating in general seems to be related to parent behavior, and is either the result of parent example or parent acceptability of the practice.

Resists the parent. An analysis of the data for this behavior as defined on page 45 revealed that all the children resisted their parents with a range of 1 (Cornelia) to 17 (Tony, Charles) during the two periods of observation. The children showed resistance in a variety of ways which were classified into five groups. There was verbal resistance in which the child said, "No," called names, or made vindictive remarks. For instance,

when Candy's mother said, "Get down off the chair," Candy replied, "No," and when she was lifted from the chair, she said, "Dope." Both "No" and "Dope" were classified as verbal resistance. Cornelia illustrated verbal resistance by saying, "I'll hit you," when her mother refused to give her a cookie. Fourteen of the children expressed verbal resistance in a total of 53 instances.

Physical resistance included those instances in which the child physically opposed the parent. The only child to attempt this was Angus, who struggled to remove his mother's hands when she steadied the potty to keep it from spilling.

Passive resistance occurred when the child ignored the parent's suggestions, directions, or commands. For instance, Candy's mother attempted to change Candy's pants and said, "Move over." Candy ignored this command and continued with her play. Betsy ignored her mother when she said, "Take off your pants." Passive resistance provided more than half the resisting contacts. Eighteen children used this practice, with a total of 101 instances.

One of the reasons for this passive resistance seemed to be the parent's frequent lack of concern about the child's complying with certain commands. This encouraged the child in ignoring commands unless he had further admonition that compliance would be exacted. If parents gave commands only when they were willing to enforce them, children might not evince passive resistance, and parents might not need to resort to physical interference as often as was found in the analysis of *Interferes with the child.*[12]

A fourth variety, active resistance, occurred when the child behaved in a manner contrary to that suggested, directed, or commanded by the parent. For instance, Tina's mother said, "Don't go near the window," and Tina went to the window and leaned out. Tommy's mother said, "Don't take any of the wood—only your toys. Don't take the wood. I have to have the wood." Tommy took the wood. In a third instance the mother said, "Keep quiet," and Charles immediately

[12] See analysis of *Interferes with the child,* page 78.

shouted. Fourteen of the children actively resisted, with a total of 29 instances of such behavior.

A fifth form of resistance might have been classified as either physical or active resistance, but for reasons of interest was classified separately. This fifth classification was *Crying*, and included all those contacts in which the parent's suggestions, directions, or commands were met by this behavior. For example, Tina cried when she could not have ice-cream, and Drew cried when his mother wanted to lift him from a bench. Ten children resisted by crying, with a total of 19 instances.

The resistance contacts were also analyzed according to their success or failure. When the child resisted and the parent accepted his resistance, the contact was classified as effective or successful resistance. For example, the mother said, "Why don't you get your carriage?" and Caroline replied, "No, I won't. I don't want the carriage." Her mother accepted this, and the contact was classed as effective verbal resistance.

Again, when the mother tried to get Angus, who was sick, to use the potty while in his crib, she said, "Stand up; don't sit." Angus said, "Yes," and sat on the potty. This was classified as effective active resistance.

When the child resisted, but at the parent's insistence conformed, the resistance contact was classified as ineffectual resistance. For instance, Drew ran down the hill. His mother said, "Come back, Drew." Drew ignored this and went on down the hill (passive resistance). The mother went after him and brought him back by holding his hand. This was classified as ineffectual resistance by the child.

Again, Phillip grabbed up a tray and ran with it. His mother said, "Stop! Put that down!" and took the tray from him. He cried, and his mother said, "You stay in here," and isolated him in the bedroom. This was classified as ineffectual resistance by the child.

Of the 203 resistance contacts, 120 were ineffectual or unsuccessful and 83 successful.

Resistance in general was positively correlated with interference by the parent and related to total negative practices of the

parent; yet, those children whose parents used an appeasing approach averaged the largest numbers of resistance instances. These children also averaged the largest numbers of successful resistance.

The children who rated low on the Sims socio-economic score card averaged more instances of resistance than did the children who rated high.

It seems from these various findings that parent behavior influences all the negative practices of children and that in large measure such conduct is the result of negative practices on the part of the parent.

ANALYSIS OF A CASE STUDY—MICHAEL

This particular case was chosen to illustrate the variation in methods and results in the handling of a child by one parent who used a dictatorial approach and by another who used a cooperative approach. In the first observation period, the investigator saw Michael supervised by his father, who used a dictatorial approach; in the second period, the child was managed by his mother, who used a cooperative approach.

It was found that during the period of management by the father, the normal play period which the child had been enjoying prior to the parent's interference was suspended, and the child's actions became distinctly babyish in spite of the rebellious tone of his conversation. In contrast, during the second period, the methods of the mother evoked more mature behavior. The child showed more independence of action and was distinctly more reasonable and pliable, although the manner of expressing himself seemed less mature than during the first period of observation.

Michael was three years old. He was a handsome child, sturdily built, with dark curly hair. His deep blue eyes, which were unusually expressive, at one moment twinkled with amusement, again were keen with interest or deep and relaxed in absorption.

He lived with his father and mother in Greenwich Village.

Their walk-up apartment, which consisted of two rooms, bath, and kitchenette, was furnished comfortably, and was bright with ornaments in harmony with a Mexican couch cover and bedspread. Part of the living-room was arranged as a studio for the father, an artist. Both father and mother, who were in their early thirties, were unusually intelligent and attractive.

The picture presented on Record I (which was taken on the father shortly after Easter) showed an attractive, busy little boy playing constructively and happily until he ran into conflict with his father. Michael and one of his little friends were painting at a small table and talking about eggs. Michael laughingly said, "Eggs are pink." Tommy, the friend, added, "Eggs are purple." Michael continued, "Eggs are green." Michael's father then interrupted with the question, "Since when is an egg green? Michael, what is the color of an egg?" Tommy said, "Eggs are green and blue and red." Michael's father said, "No. Michael, what is the color of an egg?" At this point, the father noticed Michael's face and interrupted himself with, "Did you get paint on your lips? Come here—let me see—stand up—did you put this in your mouth—open your mouth."

Michael said, "No." But he acquiesced as his father pulled him to his feet and washed out his mouth. When the child was released and permitted to return to his painting, the picture was changed. He was not busy and happy, but began nagging. "Where is my paper? Where is my paper?" The father got the paper and said, "Here, Michael." Michael then said, "Where is the water? Where is the water?" His father answered, "Where *is* the water?" Michael replied plaintively, "I don't know." His father then got him the water, arranged the paint, settled him, and went into the next room. The children resumed painting until the father returned, when he again interrupted with, "No; not so much water, Michael. Don't use so much; you get the paper wet. No, don't use this cup. Use the jar. Wait a minute! That's enough for two. What are you doing? That's not your brush. This is your brush."

Michael and Tommy sat staring while the father talked, rewashed the brushes, and resettled the children to his satisfac-

tion. While he washed his own brushes, the children painted. Michael called to his father. "Lookit! Lookit mine! Look at the color." His father came and said, "Oh, what a mess you made! That's no way to paint. Paint nicely down, like this." He demonstrated the use of the brush, and then returned to his own cleaning. Michael called, "I want another brush. I want another brush." His father returned and said, "What's the matter? That's a good brush. You spoiled it. Here!" And the father again cleaned Michael's brush.

From this excerpt it seems that the dictatorial interference of the father had the effect of changing a self-sufficient, well-occupied child into a nagging, unfocused child, who resisted, cried, and showed hostility to his father. For instance, Michael did not return to painting, but dumped out the "dirty water" and said he would play with blocks. However, when his paint things and his hands had been washed by his father, Michael picked up clay and said he would play with that. He and Tommy then threw the clay at each other. His father said, "Make something out of clay. It's not a ball; don't throw it. It's clay." When they again threw the clay, the father sent Tommy home. "Now Tommy has to go home. I told you not to throw it." Michael threw himself on the floor and cried, "I won't throw it any more." His father replied, "Now, Michael, I won't tell you any more. Tommy has to go home. Help him on with his coat." Tommy departed.

Michael then nagged for a pencil, but before he could use it he came into conflict with his father, first over getting off the bed, second over closing the door, third over putting his blocks away, and fourth over the father's effort to force construction with his blocks. Michael said to this last, "I don't know how." When he finally did make something, he said, "Look what I'm making," but his father did not respond.

The struggle to put away the blocks was solved by his father's helping and their doing it "by colors." That done, the father tried to undress Michael, who kicked and squealed and cried during the process. When the cat approached, the father pushed it off the bed and Michael said, "I don't like you any more."

To this remark his father replied, "I don't like *you* any more."

On Record II, in which the investigator observed the mother, Michael was a winning child who enjoyed a large amount of mutual give-and-take with his mother.

His mother said, "Michael, get down (from table), will you please? If you get down and get dressed, we will all go to the park." Michael answered, "No, I don't want to go." In contrast to father's reaction to refusal, his mother asked, "Why not?" Michael answered, "It's too hot." His mother said, "You can wear your summer sunsuit, and it will be cool." Michael asked, "What one? What socks?" His mother asked, "What one do you want?" Michael said, "Yellow to match your dress." His mother said, "Oh, that would be nice. Please get down off the table." Michael said, "I want yellow socks and brown shoes." His mother agreed, "Yes."

Michael climbed off the table and said, "Let me see the plants." His mother pointed to the stems and said, "See these straws. They give water to the plant, so it will grow. I wouldn't touch it, Michael. Here are your socks and yellow suit and brown shoes," and she handed them to him and said, "Now, Michael, when I'm through you have your suit on." Michael asked, "This one," and then, "I'm stuck." His mother helped him and he said, "Do you think I could dress my own self?" She said, "Of course you can." Michael then continued to dress himself. That finally accomplished, he wanted to fix his own Ovaltine which he did with help, and then drank.

His mother then said, "Now let's see. How are the hands? I would wash them." Michael said, "I want to wash." His mother replied, "All right, and try not to soil your clothes. Just wash the hands and that's all." Michael said, "I can do it myself." His mother said, "Of course you can. Now rinse them off. That is a very good job, Michael."

In this record Michael talked less independently; he asked, "Do you think I could dress my own self," and he did not defy his mother by "No, I won't." However, in actuality he did dress himself, fixed his milk, washed his hands, and waited for her

as directed; whereas with his father he talked in a less babyish manner, but in actuality his behavior was more like a baby's.

It seems that, to behave independently, a three-year-old must have security and cooperation, and when these are denied him because of dictatorial practices, he presents less mature behavior. Perhaps, since dictatorial attention is unsatisfactory, the child feels impelled to continue calling it forth in the subconscious hope that eventually it will change.

These variations in behavior are also shown by the quantitative analysis of the records. The parents' behavior is shown in Table XI, and Michael's behavior in Table XII.

This case study seems to indicate quite clearly the effect of parent behavior on the child. It seems to be evident that the

TABLE XI

ANALYSIS OF THE PRACTICES USED BY MICHAEL'S FATHER AND MOTHER

Category	*Number of Instances*		
	Father	*Mother*	*Total*
Interferes	13	3	16
Punishes	1	0	1
Dictates	14	1	15
Encourages Acquisition of Social Amenities	1	2	3
Encourages Acquisition of Language	0	0	0
Bestows Affection	0	0	0
Cautions	2	3	5
Offers Reasons	4	7	11
Diverts	0	0	0
Threatens	2	0	2
Encourages Use of Imagination	1	2	3
Provokes Curiosity	5	1	6
Talks of the Child in His Presence	0	0	0
Instructs in Distinctions of Property Rights	4	1	5
Reassures	0	2	2
Praises	2	6	8
Helps in Routine Situations	2	3	5
Ignores the Child	2	3	5
Blames the Child	3	0	3
Encourages the Child in Motor Learning	2	2	4
Hurries the Child	3	0	3
Gives Academic Instruction	2	3	5
Enjoys the Child as a Social Companion	0	3	3
Total	63	42	105

TABLE XII

ANALYSIS OF PRACTICES INITIATED BY MICHAEL

Category	*Specific Analysis of Each Category*	*Total No. of Instances When with Father*	*Total No. of Instances When with Mother*	*Total No. of Instances*
Teasing	Playfulness 0* / 0 — Nagging 2 / 0	2	0	2
Obedience	Conforms 11 / 2	11	2	13
Resistance	Actively 1 / 0 — Passively 0 / 1 — Verbally 6 / 1 — Non-effectively 7 / 2	7	2	9
Affection to Parent		0	0	0
Hostility to Parent	Verbal 1 / 0	1	0	1
Seeking Independence	Non-Routine 0 / 1 — Routine 1 / 1	1	2	3
Crying	Interference 1 / 0	1	0	1
Dictating		0	0	0
Helping	Does Help 2 / 2	2	2	4
Total		25	8	33

* The top number refers to the practices presented when Michael was supervised by his father, and the bottom number to those presented when he was supervised by the mother.

parent approach and parent practices influence both the child's actions and characteristics. Moreover, it seems that positive and cooperative practices on the part of the parent call forth independence of action and reasonable and pliable behavior in the child; whereas negative and dictatorial practices by the parent call forth rebellious and unfocused behavior in the child.

CHAPTER VII

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

THIS STUDY was undertaken to observe and describe various practices used by parents in dealing with preschool children in the home, to analyze these practices, and to give a preliminary evaluation of them in terms of their effect on the children. The data which were obtained and studied consisted of records taken in the home during systematic observations of the behavior of parents in relation to their children.

Each home was visited on two occasions. Each visit was concluded when thirty minutes of contact had been secured. Contact was defined as any verbal or physical communication between parent and child.

The procedures used in the study are described in Chapter II.

The subjects in the study were twenty-one parents and their children, representing several socio-economic levels in New York City. On the Sims socio-economic rating scale the range of scores was from 3 to 9, the median score being 6.2, which represents a "medium high" rating.

On the basis of observation and the available information about education and background, all parents and children were judged to be normal in their behavior and adjustments.

The range of the known I.Q.'s of the children was from 103 to 158.

Fifteen children attended Greenwich House Nursery School, five attended an informal play group conducted by the East Harlem Nursing and Health Center, and one was a member of the Child Development Institute Nursery School of Teachers College.

The parents' ages ranged from 18 years to 50 plus years. The children's ages ranged from 17 months to 54 months, the average age being 39 months.

TREATMENT OF THE DATA ON PARENT BEHAVIOR

Categories of parent practices. The data were analyzed in terms of twenty-three general categories of behavior that were constructed empirically on the bases of the data obtained. These categories took account of various modes of parent behavior, such as verbal and physical methods of punishment, bestowing of affection, interfering, etc.

Parents' approaches to the children. The record offered opportunity for a systematic differentiation by the investigator of parents' approaches to their children. As each record was examined and each practice grouped under the appropriate category, it seemed evident, to the investigator, that each parent's approach to his child had a certain consistency. During the course of the observation period one parent might, at various times, use authoritarian, conciliatory, situational, or mutual give-and-take methods in dealing with his child, but the impression-on-the-whole of his behavior indicated the kind of approach he habitually used with his child. Judgments concerning the predominant character of the parental approach were based both upon objectively recorded items of behavior and upon subjective notations concerning such features as tone of voice, gesture, or facial expression. On the basis of such judgments it appeared to be possible to divide the parents roughly into four classifications, including those whose predominant approach was (1) dictatorial, (2) cooperative, (3) appeasing, and (4) temporizing.

Interrelationship of parent-child behavior. The behavior of the children was classified and tallied in terms of nine categories that took account of various modes of behavior such as obedience, affection, crying, and so on. This treatment made it possible to consider the frequency of various forms of child behavior in relation to the frequency of various forms of parent behavior. This interrelationship was further studied by use of a rating scale by means of which the children were rated

with respect to such items as happiness, security, competence, and the like. The ratings were examined in relation to the behavior of the parent.

As a supplementary device, a detailed case study was made of one individual child and his parents.

Accuracy of the data. The accuracy of the experimenter in her observation was checked by a second experienced observer. The two, simultaneously and independently, observed and recorded the behavior of one particular mother and child. They later compared their records item by item to find the extent of agreement. The agreement, as found by the Arrington [3] method of computation, was 95 per cent.

The adequacy of the classification used in analyzing the practices of the parents was also measured by finding the percentage of agreement between the two workers who independently classified the contacts as found in the independently secured records. The agreement between the two workers was found to be 90 per cent.

The internal consistency of the data was computed by rank difference correlations between total parent-child contact scores on the first 15- and second 15-minute periods of a record, and also between parent-child contact scores on the first 15 minutes of each of two records pertaining to one child. A third correlation was computed between the parent-child contact scores on the two complete records for one child. The resulting coefficients, after application of the Spearman-Brown formula, ranged from .93 to .96.

The accuracy of the grouping of the parent approaches was determined by computing the percentage of agreement between the investigator's grouping and that by an independent worker. The independent worker classified the parent approach after careful study of the records. The percentage of agreement was found to be 95 per cent.

The accuracy of the scoring of the children upon the rating scale was determined by finding the agreement between the investigator's scoring and the scoring of an independent worker who scored the children after careful scrutiny of the records.

The coefficient of correlation between the two scorings was found to be .64 ± .02.

SUMMARY OF THE FINDINGS

In summarizing and appraising the findings of this study, it is well to bear in mind that the number of cases was small and that in many instances the figures presented were so low that any conclusions concerning them must be considered tentative. The investigator has attempted in each case to make this point clear.

THE PARENTS

The parents. Throughout the taking of these records the investigator was impressed with the deep regard all of the parents seemed to have for their children. All parents seemed to show underlying affection for their children; yet many times they seemed also to show hostility.

In many cases, the parent seemed chiefly concerned with the performance of household or other tasks. Much of the time the parent tried to continue these tasks even though the child desired, demanded, or needed attention. In such cases the parents frequently attempted to resolve the needs of the child by means of brief verbal exhortations, directions, or denunciations. Such attention generally failed, even momentarily, in satisfying the child. This cleavage between demands of the home and demands of the child frequently seemed to be the cause of parental tension, harassment, and even frustration, resulting in antagonistic behavior toward the child despite the parent's underlying affection for him.

Practices of the parents. The frequency tabulation of all the analyzed practices of the parents as shown in the master table, pages 48–49, revealed wide differences in practices employed as well as individual variation in the use of the various practices.

Parents in this study employed more practices considered positive (835) than negative (758) or neutral (403) in approach

to the child. This was true both before and after adjustment was made for the fact that there were 2 more positive categories than the 8 negative categories, and that there were only 5 neutral categories. It is possible that the neutral classifications might be considered positive, a situation which would make the positive preponderance even greater.

The parents who were judged to be predominantly dictatorial in their approach to their children used more negative than positive practices, while the other groups of parents ("cooperators," "appeasers," and "temporizers") used more positive than negative practices. All parents averaged roughly the same number of neutral practices.

Positive and negative practices directed toward social, emotional, and intellectual development. A classification and tally of parent practices revealed that more practices (a total of 913) were directed toward the child's intellectual development than were directed at either his social (346) or his emotional (335) development. The practices directed at the social and emotional development were preponderantly positive in character (60 per cent of the total directed at emotional development, and 71 per cent of the total directed at social development). The practices directed at intellectual development were preponderantly negative in character (60 per cent of the total) even though five categories were considered positive and only three considered negative.

The frequencies with which the various positive and negative practices were employed revealed wide variation.

The practice of interfering with the child occurred a total of 267 times, which was the "high" for all practices as well as for negative practices directed to the child's intellectual development.

There were 208 instances of verbal interference and 59 instances of physical interference. Forty-four instances of physical interference occurred before the child had been given time to respond to the initial verbal interference. Some parents "went part way with the child" in physical interference by taking the hand or gently pushing; about one-seventh of the interfering

contacts represented this effort at joint compliance. All the parents employed this practice, with a range of 2 to 28 instances during the two observation periods.

The practice of *Hurrying the child* occurred 34 times. Twenty-six of these instances were related to routine activity. Ten parents used this practice, with a range of 1 to 10 incidents during the two observation periods. Six parents hurried the child when it seemed evident that he was already making his best effort (*e.g.,* "Hurry! Get the ball," when the child was already toddling after the ball). Five parents hurried the child in toilet situations.

The positive practice showing the largest number of instances directed at the child's intellectual development was *Giving academic instruction.* There were 175 instances of teaching colors, numbers, letters, etc. All the parents were represented in this behavior, and showed a range of 1 to 9 instances during the two observation periods.

The practice of *Encouraging the child in acquisition of language* presented the smallest number (8) of positive instances directed at the child's intellectual development. This was also the smallest number of instances presented for any category. Only seven of the parents made use of this practice, with a range of 1 to 2 for the two observation periods.

Wide variations appeared in the frequency of use of practices directed at the child's emotional and social development. *Bestowing affection upon the child* was the category showing the largest number of positive instances (162) directed at the child's emotional development. There were 136 instances of verbal demonstration of affection and 26 instances of physical demonstration of affection. Eighteen parents employed this practice, with a range of 1 to 42 instances during the two periods of observation.

Reassuring the child presented the smallest number (14) of positive instances directed at the child's emotional development. Seven parents made use of this practice, with a range of 1 to 4 during the two observation periods. Reassurances were given in situations involving the child's concern for property ("You

won't hurt the curtains"), personal safety ("You won't fall"), personal ability ("You can pour the milk"), and personal fears ("The ants won't hurt you"). Six of the 14 instances were classified under this last heading.

Threatening the child provided the largest number (61) of negative instances directed at the child's emotional development. Sixteen parents, with a range of 1 to 13 instances during the two periods of observation, threatened their children. Most common in this category was the threat of spanking or slapping; the threat of either social or material deprivation was the second most common. Only one parent enforced such threats.

The negative practice showing the smallest number (24) of instances directed at the child's emotional development was *Punishing the child.* Thirteen parents punished their children, with a range of 1 to 3 instances during the two observation periods. Fourteen of the 24 instances were of spanking, slapping, or other physical punishment; the other 10 practices were deprivation and isolation.

Talking of the child in his presence presented the smallest (18) number of negative instances that were related to the child's social development. Nine parents talked of their child's illnesses, problems, or desirable and undesirable behavior. In one-third of the cases the child immediately attempted to exhibit the behavior mentioned.

Ignoring the child presented the largest (81) number of negative practices that seemed to have a bearing on the child's social development. Twenty parents showed instances of ignoring, with a range of 1 to 13 instances during the two observation periods. Fourteen of the items represented situations in which the parent ignored infringements or complaints of the child, and 67 items represented incidents in which the parent ignored "legitimate" claims of the child (appeals, questions, affectionate overtures, etc.). The child made these "legitimate" claims in soft or conversational tones of voice.

Offering reasons to the child for parent behavior and *Enjoying the child as a social companion* presented respectively the smallest (108) and largest (139) number of positive practices

directed at the child's social development. All but one of the parents offered reasons to his child (range of 1 to 14 during the two observation periods) and all the parents (range of 2 to 17 during the two observation periods) enjoyed the child as a social companion.

Distribution of practices by parents. Parents varied widely in the total frequency of their practices. Certain parents presented almost twice as many instances of behavior as did others (the range was from 65 to 130).

Percentage of contacts initiated by parents and children. A study of the total contacts between parent and child revealed that the parents initiated 59 per cent of all parent-child contacts; the range for individual parents was from 49 per cent to 73 per cent.

Consideration of parent practices as techniques in child management. A study of the parent practices as techniques in child management revealed variation in approach and in degree of success. Some practices appeared as more direct techniques than others, and some were more successful than others in securing the apparent aims.

Verbal techniques. Twenty-seven per cent of the verbal approaches were commands, 18 per cent were explanations or directions, 17 per cent were encouragements, 4 per cent were exhortations, 3 per cent were threats, and 2 per cent were denunciations of the child.

Direct or indirect attempts to attain ultimate or immediate goals. Scrutiny of the practices considered as direct and indirect attempts of the parent to attain either immediate or ultimate goals in child training revealed that 39 per cent of all practices represented direct attempts of the parent to attain an immediate goal (*e.g.,* telling the child to hurry and eat, or reassuring a frightened child).

Sixteen per cent of all practices represented direct attempts of the parent to attain an ultimate goal (teaching the distinctions of property rights, etc.).

Eighteen per cent of the practices represented indirect attempts of the parent to attain either an ultimate or an immediate

goal (ignoring the use of bad words, or diverting the child from misdeeds, etc.).

Three per cent of the practices represented a direct attempt of the parent to impress the child with the advisability of following the parent's admonitions. This group included punishments and denunciations.

Twenty-two per cent of the practices involved the parent's suggesting desirable conduct to the child by providing in his own actions an example of cooperative behavior. This group included the categories of *Offering reasons to the child, Enjoying the child as a social companion* and *Bestowing affection upon the child.*

Success of the parent techniques. The success of the various parent practices as techniques for child training could not be appraised on an all-or-none basis. The nature of the study prevented positive evaluation of the success of ultimate goals; the success of many of the immediate goals lay in personal reactions of the child which at best could only be surmised. It appeared possible, however, to make certain generalizations concerning the degree of success, and in some cases to make specific statements concerning the frequency of success or failure.

The practices grouped as verbal techniques presented varying degrees of success in child training. The use of denunciations seemed of doubtful success. The ultimate effect of its use would seem to lie in psychological changes within the child, which could not be quantitatively estimated. The immediate and observable effect would lie in the child's outward response, and in only one case was this response one of apparently desirable behavior. In all other instances the child responded to denunciations with one of two reactions: either he stood still, saying nothing, or he retaliated in kind.

As a technique *Blaming the child* appeared successful (produced desirable behavior) in 2 per cent of the instances. It appeared unsuccessful in 17 per cent of the instances and, in the remaining instances, its effects appeared to be questionable.

Cautioning the child seemed to be a legitimate technique in that it called the child's attention to a situation demanding

care. This technique appeared successful 98 per cent of the time. There were only two cases in which trouble developed after the child had been warned of danger, both of which represented lack of concern for other people.

The techniques of *Offering reasons* or *Encouraging the child* could not be appraised on the basis of total success or failure. The ultimate effects of these techniques would lie in psychological reactions which would defy quantitative analysis. The immediate effects could sometimes be noted in the observable reactions of the children. Judging from such observable reactions, it appeared that the techniques tended to elicit positive reactions, such as a display of interest.

The technique of *Threatening the child* appeared to achieve the immediate objective in about 50 per cent of the instances. In these cases the child ceased the activity which had elicited the parental threat.

The use of *Commands* (interfering, hurrying, dictating) secured the child's conformity in 93 per cent of the instances.

Punishments secured the parent's behest in 82 per cent of the instances.

The technique of *Diverting the child* was successful 60 per cent of the time. It was uniformily successful when used to get the child to eat and to stop undesirable conversation. It was 73 per cent successful in getting the child to stop crying, but only 50 per cent successful in stopping annoying or naughty behavior.

When the parent talked of the child in his presence, the child responded in 33 per cent of the instances with the behavior mentioned. Since 95 per cent of the comments were caused by worrisome behavior, this technique could hardly be considered successful in these instances. However, if desirable behavior were audibly commented upon, success at least one-third of the time might be expected.

Ignoring the child seemed to be a technique for discouraging the repetition of an act. From this point of view the technique was successful (the child did not repeat the act) in 87 per cent of the instances, and unsuccessful (the child repeated the act)

in 13 per cent of the instances. However, apparently legitimate questions, appeals, and affectionate gestures were ignored 5 times more often than was naughty or annoying behavior. From this point of view, the child did not repeat legitimate advances in 69 per cent of the instances and did not repeat illegitimate advances in 18 per cent of the instances. He did repeat both legitimate and illegitimate advances in 13 per cent of the instances, with 6.5 per cent of the instances on each classification.

Parent practices in relation to socio-economic rating. Study of the parent practices in relation to the family's rating on the Sims scale indicated that the parents who rated high on the scale presented more positive than negative practices (averages of 53.3 and 17.8). The parents who rated low on the scale presented more negative than positive practices (averages of 30.2 and 54.5). Each grouping presented almost equal numbers (averages of 17.9 and 17.7) of neutral practices.

The parents who had a score of 9 (highest rating) averaged 63 positive and 10 negative practices. This represents the largest number of positive and the smallest number of negative practices for the group.

The parents who had a score of 4 averaged 15 positive and 85 negative practices. This represents the largest number of negative and the smallest number of positive practices for the group.

THE CHILDREN

All the children in this study impressed the observer with their general attractiveness and vital behavior. All of them seemed to be normal, lively children engaged in the usual activities of the preschool child. It seemed to the observer that all of them wanted to behave as the parent desired, but did not know how to reconcile their natural inclinations with the wishes of the parent. In many cases the total situation aroused in the investigator a feeling of deep pity: the parent was trying so hard to be a good parent and the child was trying so hard to be a good child and in the eyes of each the other was a failure.

Rating scale for the children. The children were rated on a

scale by means of which an attempt was made to show some of their characteristics in relation to their total adjustment. They were rated on such traits as *Competence, Cooperativeness, Security, Bossiness, Whininess,* and so on. The degree to which a child possessed the trait was shown by ratings of most, more, average, less, least and not enough evidence, to which were attached the numerical values of 5, 4, 3, 2, 1, and 0.

The findings from use of this scale showed wide variation in scores among the children as a group, but a fair consistency for the individual child. The children who presented the highest scores on positive emotional adjustment presented the lowest scores on negative emotional adjustment.

The children who scored highest on general competence tended to score higher than others on positive emotional adjustment, and those who scored lowest on general competence tended to score low on positive emotional adjustment.

The findings from use of this scale must be considered as tentative because of the roughness of the scale and the small number of children included.

Practices of the children. Nine categories of child behavior were defined, and child practices subsumed and analyzed under these categories.

Positive and negative practices. The children as a group employed more practices considered positive (602) than negative (417) in approach to the parent. This was so even though 6 of the categories were considered negative and 3 positive in approach to the parent.

Obedience. All the children showed instances of obedience. The range was from 9 to 36 in a total of 412 instances during the two observation periods. More than two-thirds of the total instances represented immediate obedience, and the other third eventual obedience.

Resistance. All the children resisted their parents on occasion: there was a total of 203 instances of resistance and a range of 1 to 17 during the two observation periods. Passive resistance (ignoring the parent) occurred 101 times, verbal resistance 53 times, and physical resistance only once. In more than half

(120) of the instances of resisting, the child eventually conformed.

Helps. All but the youngest child helped their parents, with a total of 77 instances and a range of 1 to 14 during the two observation periods. Twenty per cent of these instances represented situations in which the child voluntarily offered his services.

Displays affection. Nineteen of the children expressed affection for their parents, with a total of 113 such instances and a range of 1 to 26 during the two observation periods. There were 8 verbal and 105 physical (hug, kiss, etc.) expressions of affection made by the children during the two observation periods.

Displays hostility. Thirteen of the children showed hostility toward their parents, with a total of 20 such instances. The range was 1 (for each of 9 children) to 3 (for each of 3 children) during the two observation periods.

Teases. Nineteen of the children teased their parents, with a total of 89 such instances and a range of 1 to 11 during the two observation periods. Half of the teasing incidents represented nagging, one-fourth represented playfulness, and the remainder jesting or impertinence.

Cries. Eighteen of the children cried, with a total of 70 such instances. Interference caused the most crying, and the second largest number of instances of crying occurred in connection with resistance of routine care.

Dictates to the parent. Seven of the children made use of this practice, with a total of 15 incidents. The practice seemed to be employed by children who apparently felt reasonably sure the technique would succeed (they were ill, or definitely encouraged in self-assertion), or by children whose parents used the technique so habitually that the child had little opportunity to learn any other.

Seeks independence. Eleven of the children had instances of this kind, with a total of 20 such incidents. Half of the incidents were related to routine procedures and half to non-routine procedures.

ANALYSIS OF A CASE STUDY

Study of one particular child and his parents indicated that a dictatorial approach by the parent induced in the child immaturity of action, accompanied by verbal rebellion; whereas, a cooperative parental approach induced in the child independence of action accompanied by verbal reasonableness.

PARENTS AND CHILDREN

Interrelationship between parent and child behavior. Certain relationships seemed to exist between practices of the parents and those of the children. The generalizations which follow must be regarded as tentative. The quantitative frequencies on which they are based are shown in Chapter VI.

The parents who presented the smallest number of affectionate advances to their children received the largest number of affectionate advances from their children.

The parents who presented the largest number of instances of dictating and interfering with their children received the largest number of expressions of hostility from their children.

Parents who showed large numbers of instances of blaming, hurrying, punishing, threatening, and interfering, had children who presented large numbers of instances of crying.

The parents who presented many instances of ignoring the child and diverting the child received many instances of teasing or nagging from the child.

The parents who interfered most often with their children encountered large numbers of instances of resistance by them.

Relationship between parent practices and child characteristics. Certain parent practices seemed to bear a relationship to certain characteristics of the child.

The children who received the smallest number of affectionate advances were rated as least secure.

Children who were frequently encouraged in academic learning scored high on ability.

Children who were cautioned most often scored low on resourcefulness.

Children who were frequently threatened scored high on fearfulness.

CONCLUSIONS

General value of parent practices. The value of the parent practices cannot entirely be shown by percentages. The figures may show the parent's apparent success or failure in securing his behest, but other factors may be as telling as the numerical findings.

Parents who cautioned their children as to care of property or other people were apparently employing a legitimate technique which proved remarkably successful. But more than half of the cautioning instances consisted of urging the child to care for himself in situations in which he seemed to be challenged by his undertaking and was already being as careful as possible. In these instances it seems that the parents' words of caution may have been to relieve their own fears. If words were necessary, instructions as to how to protect oneself would seem more valuable than standing by urging "caution."

Hurrying the child occurred frequently when the child was apparently making his best effort. Much of the time he was urged to hurry in routine situations where it seemed that he might have been taught to assume the responsibility for his care rather than be heckled to hurry in performing actions for which the parent held himself responsible.

Some techniques, such as reassuring, giving reasons, explanations, and encouragements appeared to achieve a high degree of success when judged both in terms of a tally of desirable outcome and judgments as to the child's attitude. Their increased use would seem advantageous to the child's development.

Two practices, praising and displaying affection, seemed particularly strong techniques, yet the parents utilized them in few instances. It appeared that more use of praise could have aided in securing the child's cooperation, and use of the smile,

as an affectionate gesture, might have encouraged many a child to conform. A dilatory child might have been propelled by taking his hand. Yet it appeared that praise and affection were used primarily as expressions of admiration or endearment, and not as incentives.

Two other practices, ignoring and diverting, seemed successful techniques, but sometimes they seemed to be employed in situations where their use was unwise. Legitimate advances and even desirable behavior were more frequently ignored than was undesirable behavior, yet ignoring seemed effective in securing the cessation of a child's activity.

Diverting seemed to be an effective technique. It seemed wisely employed for stopping crying, undesirable conversation, and minor misdeeds; but diverting as a technique in handling selfishness or even cruelty seems an avoidance of teaching. It seems part of the parent's duty to point out standards whereby the child may learn to make choices in his behavior.

The techniques of threatening and blaming seemed immediately effective, yet their use raised questions as to whether they might cause undesirable after-effects in the child's emotional development.

Punishing the child seemed immediately effective; and, where the punishment was directed at the misdeed, it seemed to have value. Physical punishment, used apparently to relieve temper in the parent, seemed less likely to have good effects on the child.

Talking of the child in his presence seemed effective in producing the behavior mentioned, but even if desirable behavior were thereby produced, the practice still has the disadvantage of providing the child with an example of social rudeness.

Dictating, interfering, etc., were successful in securing the parents' immediate goals. Yet their unhappy effect upon the parent-child relationship and their lack of constructive patterns for the child seem such that the parent himself would probably reject them as techniques if he knew how habitually they were employed.

Value of observation for parent education. An impartial observation such as that undertaken in this study would prove a

valuable aid in parent education. It would reveal to parents the number of times they actually use certain practices. A numerical count, not only of the "'don'ts," "stops," threats and denunciations, but also of the smiles, the handclasps, the exchange of genuinely friendly glances, and the going-part-way-with-the-child techniques, would give the parent an opportunity to face—or rejoice over—what he actually does with his child, not what he thinks he does.

Careful study (preferably under guidance) of this play-by-play observation would help the parent to consider whether or not his techniques were suited to the child's limitations and whether or not he was employing motivations of the strength and kind necessary to stir the child to ultimately desired actions.

Value of records of the children's practices. The systematic examination of children's techniques in meeting parent practices reveals not only the child's usual pattern of response to these practices but also his conception of what the parent expects of him.

A record of the child's techniques can be of service in appraising the practices of the parent. Does the child display hostility, resistance, a desire to dominate the parent? This may be his attempt to free himself from over-domination by the parent.

The child's behavior denotes his effort, however clumsy, to arrive at a satisfactory adjustment with his environment. Undesirable behavior generally indicates some underlying conflict in which the child, as clearly as he can, is telling the parent to reexamine his practices.

CONCLUDING STATEMENT

It seems to the investigator that the essential need for satisfactory parent-child relationships lies in acceptance by the parent of the legitimacy of the child's incessant day-by-day demands.

The parent accepts the telephone call or the Fuller Brush man as valid interruptions to household duties, yet often does not accept the child's interruptions as legitimate. Such a point

of view indicates the parent's failure to see how the daily interruptions by the child constitute part of his learning process, going on hour by hour and day by day. The parent wants his child to be well adjusted, yet does not realize that the handling of each situation as it comes up is a brick in the final edifice of a well- or poorly adjusted child.

The parent cannot devote every waking moment to focusing full attention on the child, luckily for the balance of both parent and child. The parent can, and should, run the household and have outside activities. But he should also recognize any demand for attention that the child makes as legitimate in that it indicates a desire or need on his part at that particular moment. If it is impossible for the parent to give attention adequate to answer the need, he can try to make it plain to the child that he cannot now but will come back to it. He thus records a sober obligation to the child's growth and to his fundamental security.

The parent who diverts his child's demands either by ignoring them or by grudgingly responding in some casual fashion is in reality blunting the edge of the child's inquiry into his world, and dulling his interest in meeting and handling his day-to-day situations.

The parent can most readily teach his child when the interest and moment are propitious; but when prevented from wholehearted response by a task that cannot be interrupted, the parent can acknowledge respect for the query by explaining why the answer must be postponed. Such continual, flexible, and patient response to the child's claims as they arise provides the parent with his surest tool for meeting the needs of the child, and demonstrates the quality of mutual respect inherent in all satisfactory human relationships.

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APPENDIX

APPENDIX A

EXACT TIME OF VISITS TO EACH HOME

Child	*Record I*	*Record II*
Charles	2:13– 3:30	1:42– 2:50
Angus	10:00–11:18	4:50– 6:15
Drew	10:47–11:50	5:00– 5:42
Deborah	5:00– 6:01	9:39–11:00
Cornelia	4:25– 6:00	5:54– 6:40
Henry	11:59– 1:50	5:10– 6:46
Tony	11:26–12:21	2:59– 4:35
Phillip	5:03– 6:25	11:42–12:15
Peter	4:47– 5:25	11:53–12:31
Nancy	1:15– 2:05	5:10– 6:22
Caroline	5:00– 6:32	9:42–11:10
Alvin	3:05– 4:20	4:54– 5:52
Enid	5:10– 5:57	11:03–11:45
Betsy	5:05– 5:55	4:02– 4:40
Jennifer	10:59– 1:00	5:05– 6:00
Tommy	11:05– 2:20	5:35– 6.27
Cedric	5:10– 6:21	3:50– 5:10
Tina	1:37– 5:50	4:29– 6:05
Candy	11:42–12:43	4:00– 5:00
Rebecca	4:32– 5:35	4:50– 6:40
Michael	5:25– 6:19	3:32– 4:17

APPENDIX B

TOTAL NUMBER OF INSTANCES AND RANGE OF INSTANCES FOR ALL CATEGORIES

Category	*Total*	*No. of Parents Represented*	*Range*
Interferes	267	21	2–28
Dictates	231	17	3–37
Provokes Curiosity	175	21	2–24
Bestows Affection	162	18	1–42
Enjoys as a Social Companion	139	21	2–17
Teaches Social Amenities	115	16	1–20
Offers Reasons	108	20	1–14
Helps in Routine Situations	105	20	1–11
Gives Academic Instruction	91	21	1– 9
Ignores Child	81	20	0–13
Cautions the Child	75	19	1–10
Threatens the Child	61	16	1–13
Encourages Imagination	57	13	1–14
Teaches Property Rights	57	20	1– 9
Diverts	51	14	1– 7
Encourages Motor Learning	50	14	1– 9
Blames the Child	42	13	1– 9
Hurries the Child	34	10	1–10
Praises the Child	32	12	1– 8
Punishes the Child	24	12	1– 3
Talks of Child in His Presence	18	9	1– 4
Reassures the Child	14	6	1– 4
Teaches Language Development	8	7	1– 2

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